

JPRS 83152

28 March 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2122

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SOVIET GENERAL SPEAKS AT SOVIET ARMY CELEBRATION IN WARSAW

AU281252 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Feb 83 p 3

[Speech by Col Gen Yuriy Zarudin, chief of Soviet Armed Forces Northern Group, at the 22 February concert in Warsaw to mark the 65th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces]

[Excerpts] Dear comrades! Esteemed Polish friends! We are sincerely grateful to the Ministry of National Defense and to the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army for having invited us to this ceremonial concert, dedicated to the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army. I wish to convey warm military greetings from the soldiers of the Northern Group of Armies.

Thank you, dear comrades, for the warm words which have been spoken today addressed to the CPSU, the entire Soviet nation and its armed forces.

In the hour of extreme trial when the Soviet Republic found itself in the fiery clutches of the capitalist blockade, we were not condemned to solitude. Our class friends from other states rendered the Soviet Republic and its army great assistance. Over a quarter of a million internationalist soldiers, including over 100,000 Poles, fought in international regiments and divisions.

Among the Polish revolutionary units which were part of the Red Army during the civil war years, the Red Revolutionary Warsaw Regiment earned eternal glory. Bidding farewell to the soldiers of this regiment departing for the front at the beginning of August 1918, Vladimir Lenin said: "A great honor has befallen you: the defense of the sacred ideas of the international brotherhood of nations with sword in hand and the practical implementation of these ideas."

We paid a great price for victory. This war deprived 20 million Soviet people and over 6 million Poles of their lives. Some 600,000 Soviet soldiers perished on the soil of fraternal Poland for the sake of its freedom and independence and for the sake of a better tomorrow for the Polish nation.

We believe that the blood spilled in the common battle, the sacrifices and suffering that occurred during the war and the jointly experienced joy at the victory over fascism will never be forgotten. The brotherhood-in-arms between the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army with the armies of the socialist states of the Warsaw Pact is unbreakable!

The aggressive forces of imperialism are responsible for the fact that the international situation has become critically tense. The United States and NATO are making open preparations for war and are meddling in the domestic affairs of other states in order to gain military superiority over the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

This is confirmed by the events in your country where imperialism is exploiting the antisocialist forces in Poland and trying to impose its own conditions and diktat on the Polish nation with the aid of economic, political and other "sanctions." In this difficult period for Poland, the Polish People's Army has carried out its patriotic duty with honor and has set up a barrier against counterrevolution.

We wish you, dear comrades, a further consolidation of all the socialist forces in Poland around the PZPR, and we hope that the battle against counterrevolution which has commenced may be consistently brought to a conclusion, that lasting stability may set in and that socialism on Polish soil may be further strengthened.

Let me take advantage of this occasion, dear friends, to express my deep gratitude to the Central Committee of the PZPR, the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the Ministry of National Defense and to local party and administrative bodies for their constant interest in the affairs of the soldiers in the Northern Group of Armies.

Aware of the entire complexity of the current political-military and economic situation in the world, our soldiers, together with those of the Polish Army and the other armies of the socialist community, are honorably carrying out their patriotic and internationalist duty to defend peace and socialism.

Long live the 65th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy!

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army!

Long live the fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Polish nations, and may it strengthen and blossom!

Long live peace and socialism!

CSO: 2600/520

NEW RUEGEN HARBOR TO HAVE MILITARY VALUE FOR GDR, USSR

Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Dec 82 p 3

[Report by 'hrk,' Berlin: "Poland To Be Detoured: GDR Is Building New Ruegen Harbor Also for the Red Army"]

[Text] During the next 4 years, the GDR and the Soviet Union are planning to complete construction of a new seagoing ferry harbor on the isle of Ruegen, south of Sassnitz. The new facility will make it possible—by detouring "shaky ally" Poland—to establish a direct rail link by ferry between the GDR and Kleipeda (the former city of Memel). The new 273-nautical mile or 510-kilometer route can be covered in about 20 hours.

East Berlin's BERLINER ZEITUNG just the other day stated that this is three times as fast as present transports by road. The report also projected an annual volume of about 5.3 million tons of goods to be transported between Ruegen and Memel by the end of this decade. Plans are, the newspaper added, to have the first of six two-deck ferries taken into service in October 1986. The 190-meter long super ferries are presently being built at the state-owned Mathias Thesen Shipyard at Wismar—the second-largest shipyard of its kind in the GDR next to the Warnow shipyard at Rostock. Each of the rail ferries can accommodate up to three complete freight trains or 103 cars. The ships are not equipped to carry passengers but can no doubt be converted into troop transports.

According to Western experts, the costly, one billion East Mark project will in all likelihood also serve the purpose of providing a technically convenient, high-speed ship-rail route to link the strong Red Army armored and artillery units stationed in Mecklenburg with their home bases.

The rail link between the new harbor and the Soviet bases in the northern GDR will be according to the Russian gauge. According to BERLINER ZEITUNG, 20 kilometers of the 60 kilometers of track at the new freight terminal in the harbor correspond to the Russian standard.

Western experts have voiced grave doubts that the unique landscape on the island will be preserved in view of the huge amounts of earth and water to be affected by the undertaking. The pier at the harbor will itself be 200 meters long and will include two large additional piers in the harbor basin. Work on dredging the harbor began in early December. It is located in a protected inlet near the fishing village of Mukran, some five kilometers south of Sassnitz.

In an interview with GDR radio, Gerhard Schuerer (SED), the chief of the state planning commission, spoke of the overall dimensions of the undertaking some time ago. "We must build a ferry, a pier, a transshipment facility for goods, an unloading dock for freight cars, reloading facilities as well as a facility to change over from the Soviet gauge to our standard gauge," Schuerer said.

Some time in the future, 3,000 people will be working in Mukran. For them, apartment houses and all the social facilities that go with them must be built. The island is not equipped for such an "invasion." Using pointedly cautious language, the East Berlin SED newspaper said that the island "is to be preserved to the greatest extent possible as a spot to attract both the natives and vacationers."

Several Baltic Sea ferries call at Ruegen's main port of Sassnitz every day. They run between Trelleborg in Sweden and the GDR and carry passenger trains. The 103-kilometer sea route may be used only by Western tourists and those traveling to Sweden.

Poland views the new Mukran project as one clearly directed against Poland's economic interests. Up to now, after all, the GDR must pay the customary international transit fees to the Polish state railroads for all rail shipments destined for the USSR.

9478

CSO: 2300/159

WRITINGS, VIEWS OF CATHOLIC PRELATE HAILED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Ali Xhiku: "Pjeter Budi--One of the Four Founders" on the occasion of the 360th anniversary of his death]

[Text] "All Albanians, regardless of religion, want to emerge once and for all from this unfortunate situation or to die with weapons in their hands."

The end of literature written in the Latin language and the creation of literature in national languages in the late Middle Ages was a well-known phenomenon of the birth and dissemination of humanism in Europe. For that reason, the publication of books by authors of our old literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, from the standpoint of the special contribution which they made to the preservation and refinement of the Albanian language and their efforts to have the Mass in Albanian, was one of the manifestations of the development of humanism in our country.

The historical and cultural significance of the work left by Pjeter Budi, viewed in the entirety of old Albanian literature, clearly indicates that our culture did not yield its fruits only outside Albanian territories in the work of Marin Barleti and his colleagues, but was sensitive to the development of humanism in our lands too, although these were in very difficult conditions. Sons of the dissemination of humanist influences in Albanian lands, Pjeter Budi and other writers of the 16th and 17th centuries understood quite well that what could be done in the years of great devastation and destruction was to convey further the traditions and writings of Albanian, to preserve and to enlarge its values as a cultural language. Those men did not hesitate to bear this burden and they thus rendered a great service to the future. Their work took root; in Albania and among the Arberesh, writing in Albanian continued in subsequent centuries, demanding countless sacrifices and martyrs.

The information that we possess regarding Pjeter Budi's life stresses that his activity in the historical events of his time and his work in the field of literature constitute a totality which strove to create conditions for the organization of a general rebellion against the foreign occupiers. The echo of Gjergj Kastrioti's epoch was very much alive, the mountaineers did



not stop fighting; it was therefore inevitable that they should increase their efforts to destroy the many obstacles which stood in the way of freedom. The will was needed of a distinguished patriot like Pjeter Budi who could accomplish his work as a priest and later as a prelate of the church among the Catholic Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia, who could create broad plans for war against the occupiers, who could defend these plans at the Vatican, which never supported the Albanian resistance, who could write books in Albanian and, with great difficulty, publish them, who could also reject once and for all the foreign missionaries who worked to damage the interests of his people and his country which he supported. Pjeter Budi was one of the inspirers of the brave assembly of Albanian clerics of Shkoder, Zadrime and Lezhe at which it was decided not to accept foreign bishops and, if any were sent, to expel them. Budi made enemies on two sides: the foreign occupiers and the foreign priests. For that reason, his death in the waves of the Drin 360 years ago must not have been an accident, but could have been organized by his many enemies.

With his many-sided patriotic activities, Pjeter Budi became one of the pillars of those social strata of the feudal aristocracy which, supported by the peasantry--which was the major motivating force of the Albanian resistance--was not reconciled to the occupation, but followed the path of struggle against it. His was a broad intellect and, while giving special attention to the preservation of the positions of the Catholic Church, now weakened, he was not prevented, in any way, by his cassock, from meeting with Muslim Albanian fighters for the freedom of the fatherland. "All," wrote Budi in one of his reports, having in mind Albanians regardless of religion, "want to emerge once and for all from this unfortunate situation or to die with weapons in their hands." Pjeter Budi was, in his own personality, a distinguished forerunner of one of the most important ideas of the Rilindja [National Rebirth] representatives, according to which "the religion of the Albanians is Albanianism." His spiritual ties with the Vatican did not hinder Budi in any way from seeing and considering that the Papal emissaries played a great role as enemies of the Albanian cause.

The books left by Pjeter Budi were religious in content. It was not, however, only the interests of the church which stimulated Budi in his work of translation and adaptation of religious texts into Albanian. In the final analysis, the destiny of Catholicism in Albanian lands would not depend upon the number of priests who would be trained in the few schools where Budi's books served also as study texts. Those allied to the faith had always been ignorant, while the Vatican at that time was reconciled to the loss that the church had suffered in its position in Albanian lands and, to preserve its interests in a wider area of the Balkans, it had entered into a compromise with the Ottomans.

The national cultural values of Pjeter Budi's works, therefore, emerge above their religious content. They take on a special political importance, not only and not primarily because they express resistance even on the religious level, but, in the first place, because they are written in Albanian, which the occupiers did not permit to be written, since they knew

that an unwritten language can disappear more easily, and thus, the foremost distinguishing feature of a nationality would be lost. Pjeter Budi, who well understood the intention of the occupier, sought in those times through scholars and authors--whom the country did not lack even in those difficult years--to help in the writing of Albanian; he sought knowledge and learning for the good of the fatherland. To provide ultimate arguments for the necessity of writing in Albanian and using it in religious services, Pjeter Budi naturally used religious feelings as a point of departure, but the important thing is that he did not remain in this position, but went further and recognized the great value of language as the primary factor in the cultural life of a country.

From the linguistic and historical-literary standpoint, Pjeter Budi raised to a higher level the work which his prominent precursor Gjon Buzuku accomplished. He published three books with over a thousand pages and did not make only translations or adaptations, but as forewords to his works, he wrote the first original prose in the history of our literature, which include, as our scholars have noted, in an outstanding manner, polemical and pamphlet elements. But his artistic claims are mostly and especially in the verses that he left. In his poetry too, Budi's work is initiatory. He remains the first explorer in the chain that extends to us. Although, for many reasons, the works of Budi cannot be treated as an authentic creation of artistic literature, and their philological importance rests primarily in their many data on history and language, their recognized worth lies in the fact that they were in themselves the clear expression of trends of cultural developments in our country at the beginning of the 17th century; yet they also preserve, here and there, knowledge about ethnographic life in those times.

By the broad work of Pjeter Budi, as well as by that of other patriotic writers of our old literature, that cultural premise was realized which made possible the springing forth and flowering of the National Rebirth movement.

12249  
CSO: 2100/28



ALBANIA

HUMOR MAGAZINE DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES OF PRETENDER LEKA

Tirana HOSTENI in Albanian 26 Nov 82 p 11

[Article by Drin Kastrati: "The Extraordinary Days of Leka the Dealer"]

[Text] The news that Queen Geraldine sold two more diamonds for 100 million francs spread quickly in the "night clubs." This was a fact. It appeared under the sale column in three Paris dailies. It seems that the princes, the "foreign ministers" of many overthrown royal courts, discussed the news in the kitchens, the wardrobes gambling halls where they were doing their nightshifts. When they finished their work and took off their "white aprons," they went to discuss the event with their "highness," in the villas in the suburbs, or they talked about it on the telephone when they happened to be somewhere else. But the people who got most excited about the news were "the members of the Legalitet Committee." A week later, the queen appeared in Brussels where she participated in the meeting of the "Legalite branch" of that city. They did not get even one franc from the queen. She told them that the funds were needed for the "liberation of Albania."

"Damnation!" yelled some, grinding their teeth, "she needs the millions for orgies."

Time passed quietly when the news spread that Lek Zogu would marry the third daughter of Egypt's Farouk who still possessed a wagon of gold. He would surely give one part of the wagon, let us say, at least two tons, to the daughter as a dowry gift. This was truly a bomb. The word spread like fire, causing the "thrones" to shake from fever. However, the news was denied the following week, and it was whispered that the "girl" was not fine enough to become a queen, and the "boy" was not clean and smart enough to become son-in-law of the throne of Egypt. In fact, more was said. The wretched boy, over 2 meters tall suffered not only from the psychosis of megalomania but also from the disease of gigantism, occupied himself with some business which cannot be mentioned by name, and possibly he was also a drug addict. But this type of man with lost chances, could never become a king or the son-in-law of a king.

Time passed peacefully and the press announced, in the sensational column, the horrible news. Lek Zogu was jailed in Thailand for trading in weapons. They had caught him red-handed in a Bangkok hotel. What can one expect

from a smuggler? However, he was freed from jail by the King of Saudi Arabia, the only court in the world which maintains an "ambassador" of Lek Zogu housed in a cabaret. The other news which was confirmed by a photograph in the press was that the "pretender to the Albanian throne" would marry the daughter of a rich Australian land owner. The girl, in contrast to the bone growth disease of the groom, suffered from lack of bone growth, hence her head hardly reached his belly-button. She was very short, but with burning eyes, happy to appear in the press, leaving behind her college friends, since she was becoming a queen.

"The late" Franco was on his death bed in Madrid, kept alive by transfusions 5 liters of blood per day, when the wedding guests started arriving in the city of Toledo. A large villa in the outskirts of the city surrounded by police and the gathering of the "highnesses," "dukes" "princes," "premiers," "foreign ministers," or simply, the grandchildren, most of them leaving their cabarets only for a couple of days, began to arrive. The last to arrive was a representative of the Russian dynasty of the Romanovs, after having hastily ushered the last card-players out of his salon, where he worked as head waiter.

And then the solemn moment arrived. The somewhat ridiculous couple headed for the stage set up as an altar in the garden of the villa. The invited guests, about 1,000 people, the men in black tails, and the women with decollete down to their bellies, all these invited people held their breath when the couple lowered their heads before the Moslem and Catholic priests. Having made their vows and following their blessing, the "king" straightened out and turned to the "world's courts" to deliver the speech.

In this great hour of his life, he, Lek Zogu, was anxious to get over with his work because some problems awaited him outside, yet the speech had to be delivered. Therefore, straightening up and looking around the hall with his disturbed eyes, he said:

"Your highnessess, I thank you...! My father had held many meetings, but he did not succeed in bringing about unity... I too have held many meetings, but I did not succeed in achieving unity..."

He talked, forgetting the words and moved as he was going to collapse; from the hall one could hear whispers, then curses. "Ja...majko," yelled one of the Karageorgevich Family. "Your father was a man...and Vrangjeli...Shen Naum and Vermosh..."

They "supressed" and shut-up Prince Karageorgevich but the noise continued. "Queen Mother," Geraldine, who stood behind the groom, turned pale and had a faint smile.

"Lek, you idiot!" she said, pinching him. "Dont' worry about money, darling," the bride told him clasping his hand. Lek Zogu got even more confused by all this. From behind he heard a savior's voice. He was approached like a fox by a bald man who whispered in his ear:

"Talk about the attack, you fool!"

The groom raised his head, shivered as if he had been drenched in water, opened his arms and yelled:

"One day we again will try to attack the Tirana government and become masters of Albania."

Congratulations were voiced and some applause was also heard. The couple kissed. "Ah, how wonderful, darling! Now we can go to Tirana!"--said the bride.

The 1,000 guests proceeded in a dignified manner toward the tables set up in the center of the garden. Once it got "warm," the orgy would start. Lek Zogu looked out of the door of the villa, holding on to a telegram in his pocket.

He was flying over the Arabian desert, with the second bottle in front of him when the stewardess said to him smilingly: "Sir, I recognized you from the newspaper. You are the King of Albania. The newspaper says that you will attack soon."

Leka measured her with his eyes. The alcohol made him think that she could be sold for 100,000 dollars. Everything can be sold. One has only to know how to sell and to find a market. Blond hair, white skin, normal teeth.... Can be sold--he muttered with bleary eyes from the alcohol and...Let us meet in Johannesburg--said Leka lowering his voice and with a smile which came out of the first whisky bottle.

He had sold the first load of weapons in South Africa and was "working" with two other "branches" of his agent, and intended to "work" there about 3 months, when he received two cablegrams from Paris. The first was from his mother so he didn't have to bother with it. But the second was from "uncle" Sam. This was not a joking matter. He had to return on the evening flight.

While getting off at Orly airport, Leka looked distrustfully at the policemen. But he quickly got hold of himself, as long as "uncle" called him...the thought came to him while driving that they can marry him for the second time. He laughed enjoying himself.

When he went to see "uncle", he noticed that they were waiting for him with unusual attention and respect. In fact he was met by uncle himself who shook his hand, and introduced him to some people who spoke English with a Slavic accent. Leka breathed, in fact he was very happy. All he had to do was to issue a declaration at 3 o'clock to some reporters, to read a "communique" to them that, he, Lek Zogu has allegedly sent a "group" to Albania, headed by a certain Zhevdet. Megalomania and gigantism overwhelmed him. That was it. "Uncle" knew the rest as to who went the saboteurs to Albania.

He then was left to go. The next day he took the plane relieved. Maybe he might find again the stewardess who might have read in the newspaper that the "king" launched the attack, seeking new markets.

He was disturbed. The world seemed to him disturbed. But what role did he play in this disturbance? He could not go on thinking any longer.

5112

CSO: 2100/25

## ETHNIC FUNCTIONS OF FOLK CULTURE EXAMINED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Prof Alfred Uci: "Folk Culture and Its Ethnic Functions"]

[Text] The ethnic characteristics of folk culture are not something foreign and superficial for our ethnic-national community-but are historically born in close unity with its life. Work tools and clothes, housing and furniture, work assignments and family relations, legal rights and the norms of behavior, oral folklore, dances and music, food and culinary, musical instruments and celebrations, the manner of greetings, mimicry and gestures, and so forth have an ethnic character. Thus for example, the folk house by carrying out established vital, practical-utilitarian or esthetic functions has reflected in its most varied proportional, planimetric, decorative, ornamental and other aspects, also ethnic characteristics of the life style of the Albanians, of the type of Albanian family, of demographic and cultural processes and of other ethnic factors.

Cultural things or impressions which, in practical-utilitarian terms, are of secondary importance, in ethnic terms, may be of primary importance and vice-versa. The fez used by the peasants of northern Albania is not an essential object required to cover the head and is not an object of extraordinary practical-utilitarian importance. It can be replaced with a European-type hat, which in fact can better fulfill the practical-utilitarian functions; however, in ethnic terms, the fez has become a symbol, a direct sign of national membership and of national distinction, a sign which fulfills an ethnic function. Other ethnic symbols, such as the flag, the eagle and so forth have a much greater importance in this regard.

Folk culture has played and continues to play a great role parallel to the new socialist culture, in particular with its ethnic functions. It has been and remains an important factor which integrates the generations within ethnicity, offers them the awareness of history and of common destiny.

Folk culture contains in itself communicative instruments which form the historical awareness of ethnicity, which crystallize different kinds of traditions and norms, customs, habits and convictions and which preserve them and transmit them from one period to the other. We can mention the

spoken Albanian language of our people as one of the most important factors of our ethnic-national unity. With its unity, the Albanian popular language has carried out during entire centuries an important ethno-integrated function by enabling communication among all the members of our ethno-national community regardless of their territorial distribution. Everyone who has been and is Albanian and speaks Albanian, is integrated in an ethnic unity through the language community, something which goes beyond the confines of the political and state organization. The common mother tongue is not only a simple means of communication, it also creates powerful psychological ethno-national feelings and trends. On the basis of the unity of the Albanian popular language our people have communicated and understood each other and through it they feel Albanian no matter where they are. Under present conditions, the unified literary language becomes an even more powerful factor for the strengthening of the national unity of Albanian culture.

Folk culture fulfills also another ethnic function by preserving and expressing the characteristics of ethnicity in relation with the other ethnic-national communities. This function has been and is of great importance because it protects the stability of the culture of the ethnicity, the originality and its continuity under conditions when it is surrounded by other ethnic communities. All the ethnic elements of folk culture play the role of "barriers" to the possible penetration of the influence of ethnically foreign cultures. These types of barriers vary and are linguistic, moral, psychological, family, economic, political and so forth. Thus for example, the Albanian popular language, as well as the unified literary language, stands as a "barrier" by protecting our national community linguistically, from the culture and the influences of the other foreign ethnicities. It is not by chance that, for example, in the regions inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia, great-Serb chauvinism exerts great pressure against the Albanian language and the Albanian ethnic-national culture. The Albanians, therefore, are opposing this pressure and defending a legitimate and natural right, the right to use the mother tongue and their ethnic-national culture.

The ethnodistinguishing function of folk culture does not permit it to be shut away completely which would exclude every influence and possible relationship with the other ethnic cultures. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the culture of our people has exerted influence over the other peoples in the same manner that it has been influenced by the cultures of other peoples.

In our country, by various ways and means, the tendency toward the most ethnically pure development of folk culture is encouraged ridding it of foreign elements which have remained organically unassimilated as a foreign matter in its body. The use of some foreign musical instruments by competent folklore groups has been deliberately opposed, because they clash with the specific characteristics of our folk music.

Folk culture fulfills also an ethno-ideological function. This function today becomes of special importance in further strengthening the national character of our entire new socialist culture. It is of great importance in facing and defeating the pressure of the cultural aggression of the superpowers and of chauvinist forces.



Through its ethnical functions, our folk culture is also influencing the spheres of the new material culture. Decorative and traditional ornamental elements and other elements of folk architecture which are bringing a national originality are being used successfully in our modern architecture. The achievements of industry and, in general, those of artistic production, in which are reflected the traditional motives and forms of the applied folk arts are very important, as was best proven by the national exhibition of folk culture which was opened in Shkoder in 1981.

In the past, the ethno-ideological function of folk culture has been generally manifested in a spontaneous manner, whereas, today its influence is an entirely deliberate process. In this direction, a great role is played by the folklore and ethnographic sciences, which by generalizing the experience of folk culture, the laws of its evolution and its relationships with the reflex culture, reveal the ethnic aspects and values, show the possibilities, ways and means of increasing the original ethnic substance of the various spheres of the reflex culture.

5112

CSO: 2100/26

CHARTER 77 SENDS LETTER TO PCI

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 20 Feb 83 p 19

[Article by Gianni Corbi: "Why Don't You Answer, Berlinguer?"]

[Text] A group of Charter 77 representatives sent the PCI [Italian Communist Party] an appeal for publication. Instead...

Rome. An encumbering document has been lying for some time in the desk of Enrico Berlinguer. It is a four-page letter that a group of former officials of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party wrote to the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, asking that it be published. The signatures include some of the best known and most prestigious names of the "Prague Spring:" Jiri Hajek, former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Milos Hajek, former Director of the Institute for the History of Socialism; Vladimir Kadlec, former Minister of Education; Jaromir Litera, former Secretary of the Prague Party Committee; Milan Machovec, philosopher and writer; Vaclav Slavic, former Secretary of the Central Committee; Vaclav Vrabec, former editor of RUDE PRAVO; Jirina Zelenkova, former member of the Central Committee of the PCCS. But the letter has not been published by the PCI.

And yet this document is an impassioned appeal to the reformist spirit of European Communism, and also an urgent invitation to the leaders of the PCI not to let the plant of Eurocommunism wither, not to attenuate the condemnation of the military dictatorship in Poland, and to continue to be a point of reference for all in the East who want to radically change the "real socialism." All very clear. All that remains to be understood is how it happens that a document so much in the spirit of Berlinguer was considered to be so compromising as to have to be carefully concealed. Certainly not out of worry of starting fresh polemics with the Czechoslovak leaders. Relations between the two parties in fact are so bad, and almost nonexistent, that they cannot become worse. The PCI has attacked Husak's government several times, and so severely that it drove RUDE PRAVO to say that the Italian communists "are spreading lies and that they are taking advantage of the Czechoslovak situation." Well, then? The most likely hypothesis is that on the eve of the congress, Berlinguer and Pajetta had to refuse their solidarity for internal reasons. Cosutta and his friends probably reasoned: if you

give prominence to documents signed by former communist leaders who have been expelled from "brother parties," we will answer for that in Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian, or Soviet newspapers, openly dissociating ourselves from schismatic initiatives.

The document is made up of three parts. The first: the PCI and Poland. "Dear Italian comrades, we are aware of your point of view concerning the proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland and its problems, its duties, and the prospects of the international labor movement in Europe and in the world, as expressed in the document published by the Central Committee of your party at the end of 1981 and in a series of public statements by organs and representatives of the party, itself. If we declare ourselves to be in favor of such opinions and of the echo they have caused in other communist parties, we do so not only in our own name...Your positions represent for us an invitation to deeper reflection not only on the 1980-81 Polish events, but also on the conditions of the so-called "real socialism," on the socialist development in Europe and in the world since the second world war..."

Second part: The PCI and the "real socialism." "Our experiences, and the conclusions that we have drawn from them, induce us to view events in a manner that is analogous to yours. Our experiences and awareness lead us to share your conviction that democracy and socialism are indissolubly connected and that both can be realized only when people are completely free to decide their own destiny...We follow with great interest your political and ideological commitment to the search for a "third way" to socialism in Western Europe...The Polish events have presented a problem that must be discussed with renewed urgency in your party, too: is it possible to reform the so-called "real socialism?" The failure of attempts that were made in this direction in 1956, in 1968, and in 1981, attempts that were repressed, even if not with certainty because of the prevalence of internal conservative forces, at present call into question any positive answer."

Third part: The PCI and the European left. "...We intend to contribute to the formation of a fresh complex of forces, capable of starting and developing in the future the revival of a democratic process that can affirm, strengthen, and expand by means of reforms the socialist character of our society. In that sense we consider ourselves to be an integral part of the genuine European left, the successes and solidarity of which encourage us greatly. We send our regards to you, Italian comrades, as the chief representatives of this left."

But this letter that was sent by the Czechoslovak communists arrived at the Botteghe Oscure, was opened, read, evaluated, and finally placed in a drawer. Thus, the question: why did Berlinguer not answer? To be credible, should not the Third Way contemplate greater courage, especially when it is a question of replying to comrades who are unjustly persecuted?

8255

CSO: 3528/96



## PROSECUTOR VIEWS GYPSY CRIME RATE, REASONS

[Editorial Report] AU091409 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 7 March 1983 on page 4 carries a 2,100-word Geno Penkovsky interview with Dr Jan Simko, prosecutor of the east Slovak region, entitled "A lot has been done, a lot remains to be done." The interview, the place and date of which are not specified, deals with the "struggle against the crimes of the gypsy population in east Slovakia."

According to Simko, the crime rate in east Slovakia is characterized by a disproportionate share of gypsy citizens: "They commit almost 21 percent of all criminal acts and offenses. In 1979 we initiated legal proceedings against 3,476 citizens of gypsy origin, in 1981 this number increased to more than 3,800. Particularly high is the crime rate among gypsy juveniles. In 1981 they accounted for more than one-half of all criminal acts committed in their age category."

Simko attributes this situation to the "unsuitable way of life of the gypsy fellow citizens," especially to their low employment figures: "Out of the 52,440 gypsy citizens in the productive age [living in east Slovakia], 35,777, or 68.7 percent, were working at the beginning of the year. Employment figures among women were particularly low. Almost 11 percent of able-bodied citizens of gypsy origin are shunning honest work. If these citizens devoted themselves to work, they would have neither the time nor the opportunity to engage in criminal activities." Simko therefore welcomes the endeavor of the east Slovak regional bodies to raise the employment rate among gypsies to 77.2 percent in the current 5-year plan.

Another factor contributing to the gypsies' disproportionate crime rate is, according to Simko, their low rate of integration in the educational system. He says that in 1980 only 61 percent of children from gypsy families in the respective age group went to kindergarten or nursery school and only 22 percent school pupils attended after-school day-care centers. In elementary schools, gypsy pupils miss too many lessons, "which, together with other factors, accounts for the fact that more than one-half of gypsy children does not complete even a basic education." According to Simko, 5,117 gypsies in east Slovakia are illiterate.

The prevalence of gypsy crime is also attributed to the existence of gypsy communities. Simko notes that their number in the region has decreased from 428 to 317 but deplores that some 18,500 gypsies still live in some 2,450 gypsy "shacks." He says that the liquidation of the remaining gypsy communities

and the solution of the gypsies' housing problems will require not only the "national committees' further purposeful approach," but also the gypsies' "better coexistence with their neighbors" and regular payment of rent.

Commenting on other factors affecting the gypsies' crime rate, Simko says: "It is a fact that the overwhelming part of the gypsy population is trying to use only the existing rights while it frequently completely neglects the fulfillment of duties. This is a result of the prevailing backwardness in all spheres of social life, connected with century-old habits that are a result of the inadequate care for this ethnic group by the preceding socioeconomic systems. Such habits are very difficult to overcome. Nor can we ignore the low standard of moral values and legal awareness, the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages and the manifestations of parasitical life at the expense of other citizens and the whole of society."

Speaking about the most frequent types of crime committed by gypsy citizens, Simko says that more than 40 percent of their criminal acts involve "gross violations of civil coexistence." This is followed by "pilferage of property in socialist ownership." "Typical," according to Simko, are also "sexual abuse, rape, threat to moral upbringing, burglaries of homes, pickpocketing and robberies, 65 percent of which are committed by citizens of gypsy origin." However, the gypsies' share in "crimes against life and health," too, is disproportionate. According to Simko, in 1980 13 out of the 18 murders in east Slovakia were committed by gypsies. Nor are "assaults on public figures" a "rare phenomenon."

In conclusion, Simko comments on the steps being taken against gypsy crime. He says that the effectiveness of "protective activity" and other forms of "enlightenment" is "relatively low" because very few gypsies, and hardly any recidivists, take part in such social work programs. He suggests, therefore, that in some cases it may be better to resort to "prosecutor's warnings and other measures of general supervision." Speaking about the courts' work, he notes that last year 53 percent of all gypsy offenders received "unsuspended sentences of deprivation of freedom" but deplores that "because of a lack of space in the correctional institutions, the commencement of the prison term sometimes comes only several months after the verdict, which reduces the direct educational effect." Special attention, according to Simko, must be devoted to juvenile delinquency among gypsies. He stresses that the struggle against juvenile delinquency is at the same time a struggle for the young gypsies' "socialist profile" and suggests that new forms be considered for children growing up in families that "do not ensure upbringing in the spirit of the principles of the socialist society." He says: "In such cases we should come up with a remedy based on the law on the family, even if this means that the appropriate bodies will have to decide about the collective upbringing of such children in institutions created especially for this purpose."

CSO: 2400/184

CSSR PARTY PERIODICAL ASSAILS ART CRITICISM

AU021433 Prague TRIBUNA No 8 in Czech 23 Feb 83 p 11

[Jiri M. Bohac article: "Debts in Art Criticism"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The conclusions drawn by the congress of Czech Graphic Artists Union confirmed that the period since the 16th CPCZ Congress has produced a number of successes in culture and art. Good results also came out of exhibitions arranged by the Graphic Artists' Union and the galleries. We can be justly proud of them. However, we must not overlook the danger of becoming blind to brilliant successes; this could create the impression that everything in graphic arts is absolutely in order, that only ideologically significant and graphically excellent works of socialist realism are being produced.

It would be perfect if, after unmasking and defeating the exponents of incorrect opinions and tendencies in our art, in its theory and criticism during the crisis-ridden years, we were now facing only a calm and sunny road toward the summits of artistic values. But a lot of honest work will still be needed before we achieve this state of affairs.

The class fight in the ideological sphere is not slackening in any way. On the contrary, in recent years imperialism's endeavors to slow down the worldwide development toward socialism have become more and more obvious. Currently, the significant weapon which the anticommunist centers are counting on is the ideological subversion against socialist countries aimed at disrupting the process of shaping the mind of socialist man--a process in which culture and art in particular have a considerable share.

It is thus part and parcel of the ideological fight to unmask the penetration of elements of bourgeois ideology into our culture and art and to uncover their origin, roots and goals. The negative phenomena and their influence must not be underrated, even if it would seem that they can be attributed to a creative search and to experimenting. Let us not forget that one cannot only make use of, but also abuse, the offered hand, the hand offered by the leading political force in our country to all honest artists, as well as to those who temporarily succumbed to creative or political errors. One must sensitively differentiate--on the basis of the visible results of their work and their careful analysis--between honest endeavor and opportunism, between a partial creative failure and

a veiled "smuggling" of disintegrating ideology into our society's superstructure, or an unintentional (as well as intentional) service to an ideology that is completely alien to socialism.

/It would be a mistake to harbor illusions in this respect. NOT only do such phenomena exist, they are even necessary. To close one's eyes to the laws governing the class battle on the ideological front would mean to support the discrepancy between words and deeds, and this would necessarily lead to a severing of the adopted principles of cultural policy from everyday practice. It would mean that we had not properly learned from the analysis contained in the lessons from the critical development of the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress./

The graphic works of the last few years include a number of artistically and ideologically good works of socialist, realistic art. Some of them we saw in statewide exhibitions like "art of victorious people" (in honor of the 30th February anniversary) and "graphic artists on the 35th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army." But we must see that in a number of exhibitions, even those that are ideologically oriented, works are beginning to crop up which are ideologically and qualitatively problematic, but perhaps this is due to their endeavor to show the variety of contemporary graphic art. It would not matter if these problematic works would meet with a critical analysis and assessment. But mostly this is not so. This shows how great the significance of graphic criticism is and how responsible the task facing it.

Let us confess that so far this criticism has been playing a rather negligible role in our cultural life. /In the daily and professional press, in radio and television programs, we quite often encounter laudatory reports which stress the incontestably positive results of contemporary works but ignore the negative phenomena, and thus also their class and ideological roots. At other times we encounter merely objectivist (and thus, from the class viewpoint, quite unobjective) descriptions of the results of all kinds of works--sometimes ideologically extremely problematic ones--that quite frequently carry a faint echo of praise. We can also encounter the endeavor of pretend, with the aid of pseudo-Marxist phraseology, that works which have absolutely nothing in common with socialism are a component of its multifaceted culture./

However, the multifaceted socialist culture cannot include works which contain elements of antihumanism, antisocialism, nihilism, existentialist feelings about life, and so forth. Such approaches have nothing in common with socialist works. Generally speaking, in the evolution dialectics a phenomenon can contain its own contradiction only as a negation. That is why works which pick out certain phenomena in the socialist society--as a rule they are negative and not typical, or they are vestiges of the past--without adopting an unambiguous, ideologically critical stand on them cannot be considered part of socialist culture. In the same way one must not hide an insufficient grasp of the artistic means of expression by speaking of a creative intention, or a search for new forms of expressing social transformations. It is high time to leave behind us the dogma of "the refreshing sketchiness" of some unfinished work in which approximation is meant to make up for what the author is incapable of fully expressing. Such "approximativism" as a "new artistic trend" is something we

can do without; this should be realized particularly by certain young graphic artists. On the other hand, even highly professional skill cannot cover up for lacking ideology, or even for ideas hostile to socialism. And we have quite a few such problems.

The development of socialist culture is taking place in a battle against its complete opposite--against antisocialist culture, regardless of whether it is a vestige of the past or has been infiltrated from the outside. Socialist culture cannot maintain anything but an attitude of ideological negation toward anti-socialist culture. In keeping with the conclusions of the 16th Party Congress, the long-term development line in socialist art continues to lie in the art of socialist realism, which means in the art based on an ideologically positive attitude toward socialism and on sharing the truthful certainties of the life that is ensured by the socialist society--a communicative art which makes maximum use of all the possibilities provided by the modes of expression of its field.

/One must not fear that art criticism, which emphasizes both the positive results and the unmasking of negative facts, could somehow weaken the party's cultural-political line. Let us not forget that, after all, criticism and self-criticism are a sign of the strength, and not weakness, of socialism, as was most convincingly proved by Lenin. On the contrary, art criticism can contribute very substantially to the purity of the party's cultural-political line, provided it is capable of uncovering the attempts to infect art with imported disintegrating ideas. One must also not ignore the fact that negative phenomena in culture cannot be eliminated by keeping silent about them; they must be analyzed, assessed and disproved; the theory of scientific communism establishes the best prerequisites for this, provided that art theory and criticism really know how to make use of them. A correct and, self-evidently, professional art criticism is proof of the strength and correctness of the party's cultural policy; so far the party could always prove that it need not fear coping with either the hostile ideology or with its own errors./

We are approaching the 35th anniversary of the days when socialism in Czechoslovakia won the final victory. This gives us an even better reason to realize how best to make use of the successes achieved in socialist culture and art as the foundation of further healthy development. Creative artists have achieved quite a lot. Like all forms of journalism, artistic theory, history and particularly art criticism are still greatly in our debt. In order to further advance ideological work in our society, it is necessary that they fulfill their mission far more consistently than has been the case to date.

CSO: 2400/184



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

NO LONGER TRUST SOME DIRECTORS—There are several film directors in the Koliba studios [in Bratislava] whom we no longer entrust with realizing new film scripts. This is either because of too many past failures or errors or because they themselves do not want to commit themselves. Some of those whom we have involved in new film projects have not lived up to the expectation that they would create valuable works of art. It is hard to entrust a director with a project that costs several million after he had failed several times in a row when, moreover, he himself does not show enough personal initiative and endeavor to produce films of at least a decent professional standard. We cannot afford any more hazards. And we cannot tolerate among us vegetating artists. We will employ all of them as second or assistant directors, cameramen or assistant cameramen. However, we will demand that they deliver good quality work. If they do not accept this offer, we will have to part ways with them and give more opportunities to young graduates of film colleges. Such is reality—we will be humane but also just. No one is exonerated by the mere fact that once upon a time he had done something for film. There is a limit to everything; at the same time we must not ignore the fact that the causes of their films' failure have often been purely subjective. [Juraj Halas interview with Eng Jaroslav Hlinicky, director general of Slovak film: "We Are Fighting to Win the Trust of Movie Goers"—place and date of interview not given] [Excerpts] [AU141402 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Mar 83 p 5]

CSO: 2400/184

GROWING UNREST AMONG YOUTH, REGIME COUNTERMEASURES REPORTED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 18 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara, correspondent, DER TAGESSPIEGEL: "Rebellion Against Spoon-Feeding Treatment by the Party: GDR Youth's Disposition to Be Critical Is Getting Stronger--Political Education at a Dead End." For related information see translations of articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Young Generations's Alienation From Regime Analyzed," 81023, 18 Jun 82, No 2021, pp 58-64; "Gloomy Art Works Seen Reflecting Youth's Mood in the 1980's," 82637, 13 Jan 83, No 2094, pp 3-7; "Psychologist on Young People's Need for Greater Independence," 81567, 18 Aug 82, No 2044, pp 14-18; "Risks of Pedagogical Models' 'Authoritative Style' Pointed Out," 82447, 13 Dec 82, No 2084, pp 16-23; "Shortcomings in Handling Difficult Students Exposed," 88972, 3 Jun 82, No 2019, pp 17-24]

[Text] Catholic bishops in the GDR issued a pastoral letter on preserving and safeguarding peace today, which came under hard attack from the East Berlin leadership, where the demand was raised, among other things, that the GDR youth's yearning for peace should be met "not with aspersion" but with frankness and confidence. The bishops have good reasons for such admonition: Not a few young people in the GDR have come under pressure because, e.g., they have been wearing the "swords into plowshares" badge, refusing military or reservists' service under arms, and rejecting premilitary training and military instruction as "not conducive to peace."

The spectrum of insinuations these young people are exposed to ranges up to the absurd innuendo they were doing the "work of the class enemy." What such an infamous insinuation can mean concretely in GDR society is something that critical youths were made to feel repeatedly last year: threats, disadvantages in training or at work and even in being allocated apartments as well as interrogations, arrests and convictions.

And not only opponents of the militarization in the GDR are exposed to persecution. Making no secret of one's Christian faith is already enough. An associate of the East Berlin journal ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE reports in a remarkable article dealing with political education in the GDR about the distress of three Christian siblings she knows personally, who had been treated "by some unreasonable teachers as if they actually were enemies of our socialist state."

Examples of this sort abound. The mistrust of anything seemingly or actually departing from the official line has not, as one might have expected, diminished over the years in the GDR. It is enough to ask critical questions in civics, express a view that differs from the teacher's, or dress differently, like certain adolescents do in the West, to cause the mistrust of teachers and youth functionaries.

Tolerance and free movement are less than ever permissible for the party, the state and the youth association. Instead, the young people in the GDR, who presumably are to complete the developed socialist society, are under an incredible tutelage and constraint which sours even those who reject capitalism--and they are not so few by any means--about the SED brand of socialism. The SED, it is fairly certain, would have less trouble with its youth, were it to show more tolerance, trust and frankness.

Especially in the recent past it has become clear that the party's prevailing educational system, which authorizes only one opinion and dodges any frank discussion of shortcomings in "real socialism," has led to a dead end. Although political education has constantly been intensified, the "socialist consciousness" of many young people leaves much to be desired. The catch phrases in civics and in political-ideological training altogether are not taken seriously, and there is a great lack of interest, teachers and functionaries complain. With it, lack of discipline among youth is growing and so are its criticism and disposition to protest.

The noted director of the psychology section at Leipzig's University, Prof Dr Wolfgang Kessel, did credit GDR youth recently with a higher awareness of problems and with a "readiness and ability for criticism." Their criticism to be sure "often was strongly emotional, with the negative frequently being overemphasized." Contradictions between demands and reality also played a role in this, according to the Leipzig psychologist, which sometimes were hard to cope with for these young people. "Constant tutelage and petty constraints" also were a problem. Prof Kessel called for showing youth more understanding and meeting its desire for self-reliance and coresponsibility.

Other specialists in the GDR as well have recently taken issue most conspicuously with the conditions under which young people grow up in the socialist German state, warning against too much subtlety in political education. An East Berlin child psychologist, Prof Hans-Dieter Schmidt, for instance, came out against the authoritative educational style typical of the GDR. One could not ignore its consequences in the GDR: passiveness, shirking, hypocrisy but also aggressiveness. Schmidt also pointed out that frankly indicating doubtful, skeptical or critical arguments made life tougher for many a child than it can cope with. The increase in psychological dysfunctions among children and adolescents in the GDR, in the various age groups, recorded by educators and physicians, also is likely to be relevant in this context.

The associate of the GDR parents magazine referred to above also advocated granting youth more free space and to reduce constraints and political excesses: "Fighting against bobby socks, sneakers, jeans, long hair, frizzy hair, diapers around one's neck or earrings seems unnecessary to me," she wrote in the latest edition of FLTERNHAUS UND SCHULE. She opposed putting labels on young people and wresting "verbal admissions" from them. Talking with them would be more important; that could be done only on the basis of trust.



There was no way of boasting of "successful political education," the author affirmed, while young people would, to be sure, give "smooth answers" to every question from their civics teacher but actually "are interested only in their own advantage and accommodate themselves with the prevailing circumstances." That is the case for not so small a sector of young people in the GDR. Yet a growing number rejects that kind of maneuver as much as the permanent tutelage, espousing a standpoint of their own that deviates from the party line, and unabashedly making demands that infringe SED principles. Aware of youth protests in the West, such a development is bound to make the SED uneasy.

5885

CSO: 2300/132

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REASONS FOR NEW POSITIVE INTERPRETATION OF LUTHER ANALYZED

Historical Significance

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Feb 83 'Bilder und Zeiten' supplement p 3

['Events and Personalities' feature article by Rudolf von Thadden: "Showing Off Martin Luther: The Historical Significance of the Reformer from the Perspective of the GDR." For a Swiss analysis of the subject of Luther as well as some additional references to related information, see translation of NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG article published under the heading, "Luther's Integration Into 'Socialist National Culture' Analyzed," in JPRS 83074, 16 Mar 83, No 2118 of this series, pp 5-7.]

[Text] "The response that he met from the people, and his conviction that he was the handmaid of the Lord, gave Luther the strength to withstand all attacks and to resist all temptations to compromise with the Papacy. He did not even fear the threat of excommunication which hung over his head and which became a reality when the ban was eventually pronounced in January 1521." These words of tribute to the German reformer are not found in a Protestant church history but belong to the theses elaborated by a group of social scientists in the GDR Academy of Sciences and published in September 1981 in the EINHEIT journal put out by the SED Central Committee. They are among the studies for intellectually and politically getting set for the Luther celebrations in the GDR which State Council chairman Erich Honecker has turned into a personal concern of his.

The same sounds, tuned to a recognition of Luther, are encountered in all official utterances from state and social organizations in the GDR. The chairman of the CDU of the GDR, Gerald Goetting, for instance, writes about the reformer, not without pathos, in a contribution to a special issue of OST-CDU, devoted to Martin Luther: "In him our republic honors one of the greatest sons of our people--a personality who with his spiritual intent and social activity influenced German and world history." The other contributions in the issue express similar tributes.

If one asks for the reasons for this new open-mindedness in the GDR toward the reformer, until recently still maligned as a "server of princes," one first gets a simple answer for them from the last of the theses referred to:

"The obligation felt by the GDR to cultivate the Lutheran legacy arises not only from Luther's importance to German and world history but also from the fact that the majority of the places associated with his life and multiform historical activity are located on GDR territory. . . . In this area he drew from the strength and wisdom of the vernacular." That makes Martin Luther an essential ingredient of local GDR history by which he deserves special attention from its scholars.

But that does not exhaust the GDR's interest in Luther by any means. Rather, the same thesis emphasizes that his "progressive legacy is contained in socialist German national culture," which, after all, points beyond the GDR. If one now thinks that the GDR, in line with its official demarcation policy, also seeks to particularize its own history and principally honor the Luther of Saxony and Thuringia, one learns different even from the preface to the theses: "The roots of the GDR lie deep in German history. As a German socialist state, it is the product of the age-old struggle for social advance on the part of all progressive forces in the German nation. All this progress, together with all who brought it about, form an inalienable part of the traditions that have molded our national identity."

Thus through Luther the topic of German history as such is posed. This then of course raises the question why this insight, which is not all that new in historiography, all of a sudden gains such importance in the GDR. Why does the GDR now, after long years of emphatically criticizing Luther (and of a deliberate appreciation for Thomas Muentzer) engage in a strong revalorization of the Wittenberg reformer? Why has it not started doing so long ago? This also is explained by a turn of expression in the theses that is worth quoting: "The victory of the working class and its allies, together with the establishment and consolidation of socialism, has created in the GDR the necessary conditions for a fair and reasoned, altogether scientific, assessment of Martin Luther."

The ability to assess the reformer judiciously, therefore, is not equally possible at all times. The power premises must be solid before one can afford to open up to such potent figures as Martin Luther. Goetting, in his contribution to the special Luther issue of OST-CDU, puts it as clearly as one could wish: "Meanwhile our angle has widened because the secured positions of socialism in our republic and in the world grant us far greater sovereignty in dealing with our heritage and also a much more discriminating evaluation of the various figures and phenomena that entered that heritage."

So the GDR now feels solid enough to believe it can afford to "contain" Luther and his "heritage" in its own culture. No longer is it unreceptive to the Lutheran heritage, as it was during the perilous years of construction when still in its first generation, but it picks it up deliberately and seeks to integrate it. Brandenburg Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, in a lecture in Tutzing 2 years ago, interpreted this change as follows: "Dealing with figures like Luther and Frederick II, or being concerned with the cultural heritage in the broader sense, need not indicate weakness or ideological confusion. Dealing with the heritage more calmly and sovereignly could also indicate that one regards the power question as settled."

So it is rather a sign of strength than of weakness that the GDR is ready to restore, after Prussia, now also Luther to the pedigree of its own statehood. That signals a greater degree of self-assurance and shows they think they can today appropriate more than the closely defined tradition of revolutionary action in German history. In the construction phase of socialism in the 1950's such open-mindedness to broader traditional currents, as it were, had not yet been possible, if one may believe the words of another contributor to the special Luther issue of OST-CDU, Guenter Wirth: "The conflict of the Protestant churches in our state in the 1950's, political and ecclesiastic in character and also concerned with the national question, was not fought directly but in historical garb, as it were, between Luther and Muentzer, or more precisely: as between a Luther and a Muentzer, each of them seen simplistically, one a 'server of princes,' the other an 'enthusiast.'"

A one-sided regard for Muentzer could logically become weaker to the extent that the Evangelical churches in the GDR reconciled themselves to the altered socialist realities in their state and severed their ties with the all-German EKD (Evangelical Church in Germany). Paradoxical as it may sound: Departing from the overall connecting national framework facilitated an opening toward the central figure of German national history, the reformer Martin Luther. Now he evidently no longer endangered the GDR's progressive consolidation process. And more than that: He now could even become useful and supply still more cement for the foundations of the separate state seeking a clear identity.

The latter has to be understood, to be sure, more from the eastern than the western perspective. National problems, that is to say, are of far greater weight in the East Bloc than in the West. Especially in the nations that feel dependent on the Soviet Union they play a role, in that the recall of national traditions can or should form a counter-weight to weaknesses in prevailing positions. That becomes most evident in the periphery of the explosive Polish question, a headache not only to the Soviet Union but also of concern to Poland's smaller neighbors. So it is not off the track to presume that the GDR finds itself induced to mark itself off more, domestically, from the myth of Poland, founded in national policy, wherefore it resorts to traditions in its own history that appear most suitable for such demarcation. And which other historical event was there--apart from Prussia's participation in the divisions of Poland--that distanced Germans from Poles more than the Reformation, which in most cases fused national and denominational borders in eastern Central Europe?

Going back to Luther thus also allows a demarcation from the Polish neighbor shaped by dynamic Catholicism. Some profit can be made from Luther-Germany's rebuke to the clerical political traditions of the Catholic world. With pride one can point to the progress of the Reformation over the backwardness of an ultramontanism preoccupied with medieval thought structures. And one can also gain some building blocks for an undivided mundane sovereignty claim by one's own state. This way, in any case, the second of the theses referred to praises the element of emancipation in the Lutheran Reformation: "Rejecting its claim to social and political authority, Luther maintained that the Church's proper task was to preach the Gospel. He denied the authority of the Pope and the priests over the individual conscience and sought to link each

man's faith solely to God's word in the Bible, thus doing away with the power of the clerics to lay down what form faith should take. In all matters that were not articles of faith the Christian was to obey the laws of 'natural reason' and be subject to the temporal power."

This interpretation, which cogently describes essential central features in how Luther understood the world and definitely conforms with how the state and the church are coordinated in Lutheran traditions, offers handles for describing the role of the church that could be useful for a state like the GDR that sees itself clearly as atheistic. It removes the state's sphere of responsibility from any church influence or criticism, confines the churches to forms of inner-church activities and erects barriers between faith and reason making interactions between the two difficult. On account of its departure from the clericalism of medieval Catholicism, Luther's church comes out with advantages that not only distinguish it positively from other forms of Christian ecclesiasticism but make it suitable, too, for the kind of state the GDR is.

This leads to a new appreciation for what the GDR finds to be the most useful concomitant and consequence of the Reformation: a tribute to the Lutheran work ethic. The ninth thesis expresses that as follows: "Luther also stimulated the development of a humane social ethic by drawing attention to the obligation to serve one's fellow-men, the urge to engage in productive and purposeful work, the necessity to abolish the exploitation of human labor for profit, the need to preserve and protect the family, and the indispensability of virtues such as diligence, industry, thrift and a sense of duty."

This illuminates especially the value of a Christianity molded by Martin Luther's Reformation. Not only that it is comparatively free of political rulership claims, it actually, the other way around, works as a ministering spirit for general welfare, a useful element of culture and morality, and even—in certain respects—of social progress. Lutheran Christianity from that perspective gains the character of a force that liberates from the clerical aspirations of the church and releases energies for meaningful service in the world.

And is this so completely wrong? Did Lutheran Christianity not indeed open people up more for the concerns of the secular world than those of the institutional church? Not only in Prussia, Protestantism often contained more political than ecclesiastic piety. It is hard to avoid the impression that certain lines of the old Lutheran traditions are becoming transparent again in the GDR's Luther interpretation, even if with different prescriptions. They seem to have recognized that one can show off with Luther, possibly more so than with Thomas Muentzer. The 19th century revived?

The theses make no secret of the problems with the Prusso-German linkage of Luther with the web of traditions in the Bismarck Empire. They also clearly criticize the practice of the alliance between throne and altar, which "invoked" Luther's name. But in this criticism they actually aim only at elements in the "abuse" of Lutheran approaches and deal gently with the man himself, whose work obviously still made such "abuse" possible. They are not talking



of the stunted sociocritical traditions of Protestantism in Lutheranism as inherent in the system, nor of the internal reasons for the lack of defensive capacities on the part of the Lutheran church opposing the temptations residing in the authoritative state. Instead, they stress the external developments that drove the legacy of the Reformation into always different situations. So ultimately, all that was still needed was a change in the political and social framework conditions in order to let Martin Luther's work come into its own again properly. Through the founding of the GDR as a socialist state on German soil, the premises for a true unfolding of Lutheranism are in place.

In spite of that, there remains a problem of negotiating between the internal and external development elements in Lutheran Christianity, between its theology and its sociopolitical context. The theses themselves do not explain that problem, yet it is all the more clearly addressed in Guenter Wirth's contribution to the special Luther issue of OST-CDU. Using a quotation from a pertinent lecture, and while looking at the relationship between the theory and the effect of Luther's theology in history, he says there: "Here theology faces the question whether it can reformulate the old question about the relationship between theology and philosophy within the framework of the question about the relationship between theology and class-bound ideology. It is not sufficient, it seems to me, to understand this merely as a modification and up-dating of that old question. We, rather, need to work up some broader hermeneutics for the meaning of the interest that always guides understanding and cognition, if Evangelical theology in the GDR wants to remain able to communicate with its scientific environment. The philosophic deficit in Evangelical theology in the GDR presents us with serious problems here."

So this means that theology must respond more to philosophic questions—meaning Marxism-Leninism—if it wants to occupy an adequate place in the new reality of socialist society and make a contribution to a reconciliation between the internal and external components of church life in the GDR. This seems by no means so misguided a demand, for even in the West one has long recognized the dangers resulting for theology when it isolates itself from its intellectual and social environment. Yet the communication between theology and philosophy must be no one-way street. The world of the profane also has reason to let itself be questioned, even more, to face being placed in doubt. Both domains suffer from manifestations of contraction and loss of reality.

Whatever the case may be, Martin Luther's work and theology evidently offer enough handles for communication with the socialist world. Even if barriers become perceptible here that cannot simply be overruled, some basis still takes shape that permits a coexistence between state and church. And now, moreover, it seems to be especially the versatility or even the ambivalence of the German reformer which make the GDR hope for success in a church policy that aims at selectivity and integration alike. This assumption is now also supported by interpretations of Luther in the third thesis, on the history of the Reformation: "Luther's views provided the impetus for the most varied groups in society to assess their position, justify their interests and state their aims. In this way he not only harnessed these forces to a common purpose but became the point of reference for many different and sometimes conflicting movements that subsequently sought their justification in his activity."

Why should one then not try this by emphasizing the "progressive" elements in Martin Luther, after his "conservative" elements have so long proven potent historically and politically sealable? All one needs for it is a more selective understanding of history and, furthermore, an overall political conception able to integrate the parts selected. Such a conception is found in the GDR's so-called heritage policy that is of significance, especially, also for the work of Martin Luther. That policy distinguishes between a general "heritage" and particular historical "traditions." "Heritage"—that is the totality of the cultural achievements of the past to which a relationship is to be established through "critical appropriation." "Tradition"—is in turn the selection, acceptance and processing of the heritage in the interest of certain classes. In this sense an article by Guenter Mehnert, "Cultural Heritage in Socialism," published in 1977, states: "If we can understand cultural heritage as the social relationship with the cultural values handed on through the entire development of mankind, the traditions already contain efforts made with regard to the cultural heritage, experiences and certain relations with it, from an ideological standpoint and in the interest of concrete classes and strata."

That then includes Luther in the heritage of German history which is supposed to be preserved and cultivated in the GDR. Furthermore the SED makes the claim that it can absorb certain parts of the history of the Reformation and its consequences in a special way, in the light of the experiences of the revolutionary workers movement, reinforcing them as a part of that tradition. Within the scope in which the heritage is fostered, the church also has a place, and that certainly offers developmental opportunities—as shown, by the way, by the celebrations planned for the Luther Year. Within the scope of the SED's cultivation of the tradition, however, the church cannot expect any consideration, at least not in terms of its specific and proper mission.

That kind of demarcation, however, must not give rise to a permanent confrontation, and it does not relegate the church to a Cinderella-type attitude. The point is that the differentiation referred to between "heritage" and "tradition" can, *mutatis mutandis*, be carried out also from the Christian perspective. Christians also place their own emphases in history. World history to them is not merely the sum total of factual events, but also the framework for God's plan of salvation for men. Facts to them are therefore not all equally important. So they distinguish between general world history and a particular church history, which are closely intertwined. As there is no tradition without a heritage, there is no church history either without world history.

In contrast to the Marxist practice of distinguishing between heritage and tradition in accordance with class criteria, however, Christians cannot differentiate so clearly between general world history and the particular church history. The boundaries between world and church, to them, are not so visibly established. The God of the Bible works among all classes and races. In spite of that, even in Christendom—similar to what it is in the workers movement—there is a special treasure of experiences that has to be preserved. Not only that Christendom takes part in the advances and reversals of the general history of mankind, it also has its special ways and experiences that must be

remembered. The Evangelical Church in the GDR thus is well advised in conducting this year its Luther celebrations alongside the official ones. Unintimidated but also without fear of objective issue-taking with the official Luther interpretation, it can bring its own "tradition" in commemorating the Reformation to bear, examine it and reflect on it. And more than that: Through a frank debate on how church history tradition is formed, it can demonstrate how traditions should generally be dealt with, that is to say, undogmatically and critically. It stands on solid ground on this, regarding the work of the reformer himself. As Martin Luther questioned the validity claim of church tradition and implacably tested it against the criterion of the testimony of Holy Writ, the church he formed also is at liberty to deal critically with its own tradition.

#### Changed Image

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 3, Feb 83 pp 9-11

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "State and Church Activities for the 1983 Luther Year in the GDR"]

[Text] In the GDR, the state and the church will celebrate 1983 as the Luther Year. The occasion is the quincentenary of the reformer on 10 November this year. The GDR media have published about and propagated this event for years. Church and state, in getting set for the Luther jubilee, appointed special committees for it years ago. The church has had a Luther Committee since 1978, and in 1980 a Martin Luther Committee of the GDR was founded in East Berlin that has hundred members and GDR State Council chairman Erich Honecker for its chairman. Since late last year, however, the press, broadcasting and television in the GDR have concentrated on the Karl Marx Year 1983, which the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND propagated with 29 theses on 1 December 1982, and which had been given no publicity up to that point.

The publishing priority by the GDR party and government clearly goes right now to the Karl Marx Year--conducted on the occasion of the 165th birthday and the centenary of the death of the socialist theoretician. Reporting on the Luther Year, however, is now essentially confined to church activities.

On 13 June 1980, with big hullabaloo and publicity, came the report of the founding of the official Luther Committee, having hundred members from all parties and mass organizations. Committee Chairman Erich Honecker called the reformer "one of the most important humanists striving for a more just world," and SED historian Horst Bartel remarked: "Martin Luther occupies a prominent place in the progressive traditions of German history, which were adopted by the working class and the whole people, continued under new conditions and reached their culmination in the victory of socialism in the GDR."



## The Changed Luther Image in the GDR

That definitively revised the previous historic image of Luther that officially prevailed in the GDR. A book by Alexander Abusch, published in 1946 and going through several editions up to 1951, had said that Luther had been the "largest intellectual figure of the German counterrevolution for centuries," a "counter-revolutionary," an "informer"--with respect to Thomas Muentzer, a "traitor of the people and the nation," and a "server of princes." At that time, Abusch was a functionary in the Culture League, then he became GDR minister of culture, and, in 1980, a constituent member of the official Luther Committee (he died in 1982). The assessment of Luther in the GDR changed in 1967, for the 450th anniversary of the Reformation, when the SED first announced its claim to the legacy of Luther and the Reformation.

In 1981 then, in 14 pages of theses on Luther--written by a group of social scientists under the chairmanship of Bartel and reprinted in 1981 in the SED journal EINHEIT--the reformer was reevaluated "as one of those who paved the way for the intellectual and political conflicts that surged through Germany and Europe in the age of the decay of feudalism, the rise of urban capitalism and the earliest bourgeois revolution" (cf. INFORMATIONEN, No 19, 1981).

Subsequently a restoration construction wave also hit the GDR that affected all church and official memorials having something to do with the reformer. For instance one renovated or reconditioned the house in Eisleben in which Martin Luther was born; the house in Eisleben in which he died on 18 February 1546; the former Augustinian monastery in Erfurt, where he lived as a monk from 1505 till 1511; Wartburg Castle, where he translated the New Testament in 1521 and 1522; and the city church of Wittenberg and its palace church, to the door of which he nailed his theses.

Involved in the preparations for the Luther jubilee also were the cultural mass organizations in the GDR, such as the science society Urania or the Culture League, which in the fall of last year sponsored a conference on the topic, "Luther in History and the Present--The Stature, Limits and Work of a Bourgeois Humanist." At the same time, seminars and conferences were held, or were announced for the jubilee year, by science academies as well as exhibitions in the best known museums and galleries.

The GDR film company DEFA produced a television film of several parts for GDR TV about the life and work of the reformer, the recording industry brought out ten long-playing records--two of them with texts from the Luther Bible--and official as well as church publishing houses put many Luther books into print which are supposed all to be published this year.

### No Joint State-Church Events

Official preparations provide for a number of different events. For the eve of Luther's birthday--9 November 1983--the official Luther Committee plans a festivity in East Berlin, for which, among others, foreign state and government heads are invited.

Already on 18 February two renovated memorial sites are going to be reopened in Eisleben--the house in which Luther was born, which belongs to the city, and the one in which he died, which belongs to the church. Eisenach and Wittenberg will sponsor festivities of their municipal assemblies. Also, exhibitions are planned, in Wartburg Castle, in East Berlin museums etc. The Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg will commemorate its patron in October, Eisenach and Halle will sponsor science seminars on Luther themes.

The Evangelical church in the GDR, whose Luther Committee is chaired by the Thuringian Bishop Werner Leich, has, as he recently announced, no plans for joint events with the official Luther Committee. Bishop Leich and other leading representatives of the Evangelical church in the GDR had attended meetings of the official committee only as guests and, in the contributions to the discussions they made there, emphasized their own efforts and organization. Only during various joint inspections of Luther memorial sites, cooperation in renovation projects for them was agreed on. The two committees also agreed to issue mutual invitations and avoid time conflicts in the events they would sponsor.

#### The Church Anniversary Program

As Bishop Leich emphasized when he presented the church anniversary program, those events are to demonstrate the common roots of the large churches and illuminate the readiness of the churches to communicate with "state and society." Those events should then also be made "realistic" and avoid "all trivialization," with certain topics of Luther's work and life to be set aside in the discussions, such as his attitude toward the Peasants War and toward Judaism.

The program starts with the initiation of the Luther Year on Wartburg Castle on 4 May, the day when Martin Luther was placed in protective custody in the Wartburg in 1521. The highlights of the church events are the seven regional church days between May and September, all to be held under the motto "venture trust." They are to make clear, according to Bishop Leich, "that in the treatment of the themes we must show truthfulness, responsibility, hope and a sense of future."

In August then, the Sixth International Luther Research Congress will be held in Erfurt, which will have only invited participants. It is devoted to the theme "Martin Luther--Work and Effect," with particular working teams dealing with the subtopics "Luther's Cause," "Luther and the Church," "Luther and Culture," and "Luther and Society."

Finally, between 9 and 13 November, a festival week will be held in the Eisleben community, where Luther was born, baptized and where he died. There, on 10 November, will also be held the final event, a festival service, where ecumenical representatives will preach on the Christian lead topic of the Luther Year, "Above All, Fear, Love and Trust God."

Tens of thousands of guests are expected from the FRG and West Berlin. In the Scandinavian countries, Canada and the United States, the GDR is putting on special efforts to attract visitors for the Luther Year. Travel bureaus that

made proper arrangements with the official GDR travel bureau will offer special round-trips to Luther memorials in the GDR.

At the second session of the official committee late in October 1982, SED chief Erich Honecker said: "We cordially welcome all guests who feel committed to Martin Luther and his work. During their stay they will have the opportunity to find out what real socialism is like, which our people is shaping in true freedom."

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# EFFECT OF INCOME DIFFERENCES ON PUBLIC NOTED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 2, Feb 83 pp 29-38

/Article by Dr Otto Purityi, research director at the Trade Union Theoretical Research Institute, "Income Differences and Public Mood"/

/Text/ Since possibilities for moonlighting have increased in our country, and since the simpler forms of economic management promise a closer correlation between performance and income, public mood has intensified with regard to income differentiation. There has been such a wave of mood earlier but the present one is quite different.

Ten or 15 years ago people resented the fact that some individuals were making a lot of money. Social resentment increased as some people became rich, bought homes and cars, built weekend cottages while others were facing financial problems daily. Social resentment grew in proportion with the number of affluent families. Interestingly, social resentment about exceptionally high incomes appeared only when such incomes were neither rare nor out of reach.

First we resented only the grocer and the gynecologist but we were not especially interested in their affluence. Later we resented the huge buying power coming from household plots. The government almost gave in to this public mood. Still later we were envious of the taxi driver, the hairdresser and the waiter; we thought garbage collectors and TV repairmen made too much money. We thought that almost everyone made too much money--except ourselves. Since the price increases, people on salaries who cannot moonlight (office workers, teachers and retired persons) have come into the center of attention. They think it would be fair to increase pension deductions in the higher pay categories, for "it must be taken from those who can afford it".

What is fair for salaried persons is to tax extra incomes heavily, to cream off the incomes of the private sector. The trouble is, at least half of the moonlightings have no central records and are impossible to tax. It is a fact that about one-third of the population can achieve high personal and family income today. Is it possible in this situation to make a more pronounced differentiation? It is, for the differences between incomes have in the last three decades decreased both vertically (according to rank, education and responsibility) and horizontally (between people engaged in identical work).

## Vertical Income Ratios

The decrease of income differences according to rank, education and responsibility after the war mirrored the efforts made in eliminating the earlier disproportionateness of incomes and in ameliorating the living conditions of people with low incomes. But it also mirrored the fact that the economic policies did not make use of financial incentives consistently.

After the reform of 1968, incomes were differentiated to a certain degree and extra incomes increased. But the process of vertical differentiation soon stopped. Incomes have been levelling off again since 1973. The average income of people with higher-than-average incomes was 1.91 times higher in 1972 than the average income of people with lower-than-average incomes; this index of differentiation was only 1.82 in 1980.

The wages of skilled workers were still 56 percent higher in 1975 than the wages of unskilled workers; in 1980, they were only 45 percent higher. The advantage of skilled workers against workers trained on the job decreased from 30 percent to 15 percent.

The lowest incomes continue to increase. This is understandable, for it is people with low incomes who are affected the most by the rapid price increases, it is their surplus income that decreases the most. It is useless to say that waging must be separated from the socio-political function. This cannot be always accomplished.

In the first half of careers, there are not many incentives for the attainment of higher education. It is well-known that higher education hardly results in higher pay. Still, it is shocking to read the report of the Central Labor Information which shows, on the basis of a survey made in May 1980, that the average income of people who finished 8 years of school is lower than the income of those who have not even finished 8 years. Often it is more worthwhile to go through a single special course after grade school than to spend 4 years in a secondary school.

But the individual is interested not only in where he stands at present in terms of his income but also in what income he can reach as the years go by. Although the income of a beginning college graduate is low, he hopes that his relative income will be much higher in 10 years. The expected increase of incomes--and the differentiation within than--has its own incentive. On this basis, individual jobs separate from one another in terms of having or not having perspectives, and this often affects the present level of income as well. A career with good income dynamics may be appealing even when the initial income is low. (It is up to the parents to support their child in the first years--if they can!)

The 1980 report also showed that the income dynamics of non-physical workers is continuous throughout the entire career; the physical workers' income shows an initial steep climb up to about the age of 35 or 40 where it begins to stagnate or even decrease. Accordingly, two large periods can be identified in the relative position of these two large categories. At the beginning of careers, the physical workers have a clear advantage while in the second half they fall behind and the gap increases dramatically.



Total incomes in the two groups meet around the age 32. This is where non-physical workers catch up with the physical workers in their total incomes up to that point. Non-physical workers are in an extremely bad bargaining position in the first years. They learn that professional knowledge learned in school can hardly be exchanged for money at that time. Experience acquired is worth more than a degree, more precisely, education becomes an income increasing factor only with age.

We know from the "Information About Incomes in 1980", prepared by the Main Department of Economy of the Ministry of Labor, that income dynamics is very differentiated, even according to the individual professions. In the period under survey, the income of laborers rapidly increases up to age 30, and then slowly decreases. The same is found with unskilled workers: after the age 30, their income begins to stagnate. The income of skilled workers increases rather rapidly up to age 40 but this increase has a slowing tendency. Then stagnation begins here too. The incomes of office workers also increases rapidly up to the age of 35-39, followed by a slower pace. Here the pace of increase gradually slows down with age but there is an increase throughout.

#### Horizontal Differentiation

In the seventies, the scale of incomes not only became narrower according to rank and education but also among people in similar jobs. The fault lies, on the one hand, in the system of central income regulations which, through their extreme insensitivity and degressivity, do not make it possible to set wages according to performance. On the other hand, however, the rapid price increases are also at fault. According to the new public mood, everyone should get a wage increase to the extent of the price increases, as everyone lives off the market. The third "villain" was the national shortage of labor: anyone who did not receive an expected increase, quit his job or continually threatened to quit. And the enterprise knew that it would cost more to replace him.

In view of the rapid price increases and the slow or negative real wage increases, enterprise managers are trying to increase everyone's wages annually, and if they cannot, they try to increase the wages of at least those skipped in the previous year. In many places, the principle of "last couple, run forward" is being employed in wage increases, awards, merit pay, and evaluation of work competition.

Small collectives are also often reluctant to maintain a significant differentiation of the incomes of their members although they are more aware of the differences in individual performance. They divide the exalator pay and merit pay among themselves rather evenly if it depends on them--or on the foremen and brigade chiefs. But they would make the requirement the same that the wage increases for the brigades and work teams be differentiated according to the varying output of collective work. This requirement is only made, of course, if it is beneficial for them, i.e., if the increase in output depends only on them and not on the material supply, work, or quality of tools and machines.

Both the enterprise management and the collectives accepted in essence the concept of levelled differentiation in recent years: he whose wages are lagging behind, gets a larger pay hike--not according to his own performance but according to the incomes of the other people, i.e., according to the average "percentage range".

Even up to now, enterprise executives considered it to be their responsibility to divide the funds for wage increases in a way that everyone gets something. They have so many problems that they are reluctant to deal with the tensions resulting from a dynamic differentiation. Merit is an ugly thing. To give more to some means to give less to others. If someone in the shop receives a big wage increase, he almost defrauds the other workers. If someone receives merit pay for a new idea, the annual fund of profit sharing will be smaller. If wage increases follow increased performance, the enterprise may easily end up in the position of having to pay taxes on wage increases from the sharing fund. Pay for overtime defrauds those who do not work overtime; those whose wages are calculated in a piece rate or a single-sum remittance, take the money away from the others. The work system "Work Flawlessly" eats up the sliding wage or often even the funds for wage increases.

But let us now imagine a miraculous situation in which the workers, through their increased performance, create the possibility of related wage increases, i.e., in which it is possible to honor extra work, even if modestly. Would it be possible in such an ideal situation to connect the wages rigidly to individual and brigade output? It would perhaps be possible in areas where performance is possible to measure exactly. But here too, the aged colleague becomes a problem: his output is not what it used to be, he cannot compete with his younger colleagues, but has a great expertise in the activity of the entire shop, in all of its parts, machines, tools and tasks. Is it not true that his wages should not be based solely on his output?

It is difficult to compare different jobs requiring different training and to set the wages accordingly. It is even more difficult to determine wages based on performance among managers, from the team chief to the chief executive. Moreover, the working conditions will continue to vary to a great extent for a long time to come. Under bad working conditions, the same performance must result in higher pay. There are many boring and monotonous jobs where talking about the joy of work and professional integrity comes off as a bad joke. Here the worker is interested only in money. He must be paid, too, even in excess of what he deserves. There are jobs which carry a social stigma. These must be paid well in order to find people who will do them.

Wages are determined not only by the work and output but also by the mass of demands. It is our wages that determine our family's living standards and life style. Minimum wages are centrally set in most countries, and a faster-than-average increase of them is prescribed. In Hungary, too, how often have we heard and read, who should the primary beneficiaries of wage increases be! Now the elderly, then youth; now people at the beginning of their careers, then those with seniority, women, those with multiple training, those working in rotating shifts--almost everyone.

These adjustments are disappearing. I think we have not much need for them either. Everyone accepts that the principle of performance in determining wages is just, moral and humane. In the meantime, there are many just, moral and humane exceptions. The fact is, society is unable to take over from the enterprise all social responsibilities. Pregnant women are supposed to be given easier tasks but their wages are not supposed to be decreased. Women with small children must work in a single shift but it must be 'worked out' how to keep their wages intact. No one complains about this. We think that this is somehow just--or at least acceptable.

Is it possible to apply rigidly the principle of distribution according to performance where work is difficult and dangerous to health and thus performance decreases significantly after 20-25 years? Would it be just to decrease the wages and pension funds of these workers? How many miners, steel workers, railroad workers and boat yard workers must be given easier jobs or must be put in heated shops? Their present jobs are paying less, but their health has been ruined by the enterprise. In essence, they are handicapped, but not always to the extent to which they would be classified in terms of public health and benefits.

Compulsory special consideration is also given to those who are directly affected by the so-called structure policy, e.g., those who are new at a job or must learn a new job. Here humaneness and the social function of waging temporarily precedes the principle of performance. The affected workers cannot carry alone the burden of reorganization, regrouping and additional training. Their wages must be supplemented until they reach their old performance in their new job.

In addition to the principle of performance, there is, of course, another principle which--I do not know why--we tend to forget. I would call this the principle of work according to distribution. Everyone should earn his money. I say this because often it is not the worker whose wage is set but that of the job, the position, the office. The bookkeeper, the warehouseman, the railroadman etc. carry out predetermined responsibilities for a given sum of money. The way we learned in political economy was that the principle of performance can be defined only in connection with the principle of work according to ability. We learned it but forgot it. We must learn it again. For there are less and less jobs where performance must be increased by physical effort. There are more and more jobs where the tasks must be carried out with responsibility and where performance is more or less qualitative. He who cannot grow up to his post should go to a job that he can handle.

Since the possibilities for moonlighting sharply increased, there has been a demand that the good worker be able to make good money even within the large socialist enterprise. The public does not understand that while almost all moonlighting pays well, the enterprises and cooperatives are holding back the wages--and the output. Thus it is not an argument for the worker that wages are low, for otherwise the population's buying power would increase excessively which in turn would further fuel inflation. Were he thinking in these

economic relationships, he would be justified in thinking that inflation is fueled much more by high production cost, low output, low supply while the wages still stream out "as planned".

It is difficult to explain to the worker why we want to conserve through wages. He sees in the process of factory activity how much is being wasted, how much loss results from the lack of organization, for wasting material and energy, from scrap, from hastiness, and from fast work. He does not understand why additional wages are different from the existing ones; why the money used for wages is different than that used for materials, spare parts, machines and buildings. Or why it is that one forint is "hard" while another is "soft". On the other hand, enterprise executives do not understand why the wage regulations are overburdened with so many functions that they can no longer fulfill any of these functions.

What is most disturbing for people is that there is plenty of money for extra work, small enterprise, and enterprise economic teams. But only a small number of workers can get such work. Where is equality?

#### Extra Work, Extra Income

The voice of public opinion is louder from time to time nowadays in the evaluation of simpler forms of management and possibilities for extra work. The majority of it is not an "objective" opinion, i.e., is not based on whether or not they are good for the nation, but a subjective one, i.e., whether or not people can make extra money through the new forms. No one is enthusiastic who cannot be part of a good "business".

The main question asked by those thinking of the country's benefit is, to what extent this great "liberalization" fits into the socialist social and economic system and into the framework of our ideology. The existence of the auxiliary economy has become a fact. Already in 1980, 16-18 percent of the total number of working hours were spent in this sphere. The extra resources originating from it yield one-sixth of the population's consumption. Small-scale farming yields almost one-third of agricultural production. (This high ratio includes the producers' use taken over from the large enterprises.) Sixty percent of the homes were built on the basis of family effort, help by friends and small private industry. Three-fourths of the services come from without the socialist sector. According to estimates, 70 percent of industrial and construction workers, 90 percent of farm hands, 20-25 percent of intellectuals, and 40 percent of retired persons had jobs in the various areas of the auxiliary economy before the establishment of enterprise economic work teams.

The ideologically-politically oriented part of public opinion often asks this question nowadays: is it possible to build socialism in the private sector? It is perhaps better to formulate the question this way: is this against the interests of socialism? For work that is possible to accomplish individually or with the family, with only a few people and with a small capital, is better done this way because it is less expensive. "Oversocialization" puts an almost unbearable overhead burden on these activities. Certain activities done in large industries pay off only if it is impossible to meet the demand by small industry.



The law of mandatory harmony between production resources and the conditions of production means not only that throughout history the development of production resources forced the establishment of new and progressive forms through radical social and economic changes but also that at a given time and in a given country--or in real and existing socialism--the circumstances of production, management and ownership must also adjust to the character and concentration of production resources and to the character of the activities and demand. Just as the Hungarian Railway System cannot be operated in private hands or in the form of an enterprise, it is not rational to put shoe repair, hairdressing and the small restaurant under state management.

There are, of course, many detrimental and destabilizing elements as well in the possibilities of extra work and extra income. E.g., there are many self-exploiting jobs that are done under the pressure of necessity. These involve mainly the objective of acquiring and furnishing a home or, in the case of older people, the acquisition and furnishing of the children's home. Since some people are able to give their family an affluence without special knowledge or work and since this does not seem to be unattainable for others, competition between families is intensified. Everyone is watching what the other family has acquired and in what way it must be caught up with or surpassed. Running after money takes the energy away from education, recreation, study, and the family.

The opportunities for small enterprise and extra income speed up the privatization of the individual and strengthen bourgeois thinking and way of life. Many individuals--in the spell of extra work and extra incomes and in the knowledge that their own selfish goals can indeed be attained--pay less and less attention to the problems and concerns of society, the colleagues and the enterprise; for them, "public issue" is only that which is at the same time a private issue in which they take direct interest. They always want to "get out" of involvement rather than "get involved". It is becoming more and more difficult to mobilize people outside of working hours for social work or for participation in political education or meetings. They are becoming reluctant even to work overtime unless it is done in the form of economic work teams, i.e., with high pay. Whoever can, will introduce for himself the "free Friday". Organized factory work, discipline, and showing up for work are becoming less and less appealing.

Aside from the ideological, political and economic evaluation, the moral evaluation of extra incomes--i.e., how this process and the accompanying phenomena fit into our socialist moral value system--is becoming more and more important in the eyes of public opinion.

Let us take private home building as an example. There is nothing wrong with doing it on a family basis, under the guidance of a certified tradesman. It is debatable, however, whether this is acceptable not on a family basis but on that of the so-called private brigade's cooperation where individual incomes are extremely high, free of tax.

If someone leases his weekend cottage at the Balaton Lake to an acquaintance abroad, it is all right albeit not entirely legal. But if he leases it for the entire season without telling it to the authorities and without paying taxes, it is both immoral and illegal.



Even where the extra income is generally judged wrong, we find a wide scale of moral evaluation. There are activities where tipping has been a tradition. The wages of the hairdresser or waiter is such that tipping is reckoned with. For the time being, we cannot do anything about it: raising their wages would not eliminate tipping. There are cases where we think that tipping is right. For instance, movers will do a good job. But if tipping becomes subject to blackmail (in delivering fuel, in car repair shops, in hospital), if we give a tip in order not to get into a relatively disadvantageous situation, it becomes indecent.

Even moonlighting has its own moral scale. In many factories a small shop is set up where the workers are moonlighting, using the enterprise's machines and tools, and scrap bought from the enterprise. This is legal. Legality is questionable, however, when even the material is supplied by the enterprise free of charge. And when the moonlighting takes place without permission or even during working hours, this becomes entirely immoral and illegal.

The moral evaluation of incomes resulting from enterprise work communities is not uniform either. Sometimes the work done in work communities is the same as the work done during working hours. Work is "prepared for production", programmed, calculated, booked and waged by the same personnel, only for three-fold hourly pay. And this does not even need a permission for overtime; it is not calculated into the wages. Those who cannot join these communities consider this immoral indeed. And those who do join say: I could make this much money over the weekend in private brigades; why should I get less money when I am working for my own company? The managers, on the other hand, say that old and unsolved problems disappeared since this opportunity was established.

While career alternatives are expanding in our country and while the opportunities for extra work and extra income become more abundant for every man who can and wants to work, the differences between those who can and cannot make a good use of these opportunities, are becoming more and more apparent. The unfolding of equal opportunity necessarily leads to the unequal use of opportunity, i.e., it makes this inequality apparent and striking. Those who are generally in a more advantageous situation are rather distinctly separated from those who are generally in a more disadvantageous situation; those families which can hand down their wealth or affluence from those which can hand down only poverty or a modest way of life.

There is an increasing gap between families which hand down education and a cultured way of life and families which hand down a primitive life style without perspective. These processes may become the sources of social tension. The problem with them is that their elimination, partial elimination or administrative limitation would create at least as much tension. We would put brakes on two social forces, impulses or basic interests. One is man's striving for the creation of more affluence for his family through more and better work—which results, whether he wants it or not, in increased national output and higher living standards; the other is the immanent family function of raising the children, putting them on the right track, and providing them with the best conditions.

Our nation cannot do away at present with the forces and capacities inherent in small enterprises. Moreover, we cannot question the right of the individual to do extra work that is sensible and profitable. On the other hand, it would not be feasible to expect that the young generations stepping out into life should start from the same point. This would diminish the future-building power of the family, it would weaken its basic function, it would distort its consumption structure and basic moral stand. It would be tantamount to debating the high value of the fact that the working members of the family make their efforts after the age of 40-45 not for themselves but for their children. We have no right nor reason to shake up society's child-centricity which lives in the family sphere as well. It is not at all immoral or socially unacceptable when a growing child accepts his parents' help. He will be able to do the same to his children, following his parents' example.

Interests and social values were always ranked by politics. These days the increase of efficiency and production, the improvement of supply, and the growth of the family is more valuable than the elimination of necessarily existing detrimental effects through forced equality.

The close connection between the affluence of the family and that of the nation has been undebatable for years. "In addition to the improvement of the management of the large, medium and small socialist enterprises and a more efficient use of labor, a better use of individual and family labor resources must be supported at the same time. A large part of the workers are moonlighting in their free time, and this is good for both the national economy and the individual. This is a supplementary resource for our development, contributing to flexibly meeting demands that are increasing and rapidly changing, and to the increase of national wealth"—says the resolution of the MSZMP's 12th congress.

#### Prices and Wages

International economic and political conditions have become harder and harder in the past years. The use of external resources has become more limited. The dragging of world recession and the imports limited by financing conditions slows down the pace of economic development. The objectives related to economic growth, economic development, and living standards must be correlated with a significant improvement of foreign trade balance. The year 1983 must have a stabilizing character.

Under circumstances in which national real wages are not increasing and consumer prices are rapidly increasing, the "bargaining position" of certain groups of professions and social strata is gradually worsening. When real wages were increasing, differentiation essentially meant the differentiation of the increase in real wages. Now that real wages are stagnating or decreasing, the real wages themselves are being differentiated, i.e., the wages already distributed are being redistributed.

The differentiation of the increase in real wages is socially acceptable and is, in essence, accepted. But the differentiation of the real wages themselves

is a source for serious social tensions, for the share of people with low income (retired people, people on fixed salaries) decreases; the situation of those presently in the worst bargaining position further deteriorates. Enterprise executives know this very well and are trying to at least maintain the relative position of people with lower income; they are trying to increase everyone's wages from year to year.

Only the real value of the lowest pensions is maintained; those receiving higher pensions suffer losses every year. The rapid price increase disturbs the benefit policies. The state's budget is simply insufficient for the valorization of pensions, family supplement, and childcare benefits, i.e., for the annual increase that is in pace with the price increase.

The rapid price increase has such layer effects that cannot be balanced by social policies at a slow pace of growth. The price increase has different effects on the various strata of the population even when real wages and real pensions are not decreasing. For the decrease in the money's buying power is decreasing the spending portion of incomes to various degrees, depending on the family's income level. In case of a rapid price increase, the population's real wages are differentiated more than usual, resulting in a special disadvantage for people with fixed income, disadvantaged people, retired persons, persons with large families and persons at the beginning of their careers. Many families are forced to give up expenditures which meant affluence itself for them. For instance, since the prices of train and bus tickets increased, it has become a problem for a large family to go on a trip. If, for instance, four persons travel only 50 kilometers and want to have lunch somewhere, they will have to spend at least 500 forints.

The rapid price increase disturbs not only enterprise waging but also the national wage policy. For every branch, trade, and stratum must receive some kind of a raise. The compensational goal takes away a large portion of the funds for nominal wage increases from the differentiating incentives.

If the world market devalues the nation's work, the buying power and value of each unit of national revenues decreases. If we want to achieve national results that are identical with those of the previous year, everyone must increase in principle his output to the degree of the devaluation. The real wage exchange value of each unit of natural output decreases. This is an extremely mean and cruel thing. For we felt at one time that the principle of "same wage for same work" is valid both in the dimension of time and in realistic definition. The same work should get the same pay this year as last year. It should but from what?

And if the worker would indeed receive the additional money for his additional output, the state would be forced to take back a large portion of it through price increases, for, because of the devaluation of national work, the outflowing money is not fully backed up by products.

Although it is being done in the entire world, it is unjust to use additional money as an incentive and then take away, at least partially, the buying power

through a price increase. It is unjust for those who react to the incentive by increasing their output, for the higher wages have no more value than the earlier wages. It is unacceptable for those, too, who are losing an extra buying power which was given not to them but to others. This is what is wrong with price increases that take away the population's buying power.

Our multiplying problems are detrimental not only for the economy as a whole but also for the personal lives of the population. There is an increasing danger of a wasteful life style. Many people find no reason for money saving, for the annual sum of money put away for a home hardly exceeds the annual increase of home prices.

A certain portion of individual incomes becomes an "asset", i.e., a form of maintaining and increasing the value of savings. A part of the differences in incomes becomes a difference in assets, i.e., a permanent difference. Since incomes increase slower than the prices of real estates and other assets, those who own the latter are permanently in a significantly better position--only through an increase of the value of their assets.

Most families are not acquiring "assets", of course, but are only trying to maintain their present level of consumption in spite of the worsening economic conditions. This effort, in the case of workers, is manifest in the fact that they voice more emphatically their interests in performance and wage increase.

And if we take this public opinion seriously (the political leadership did always take it seriously), then the necessary economic and economic-political conditions must be sooner or later created. A dynamic differentiation of incomes resulting from work (which is inherently based on growth and performance) demands an aggressive economic policy that discovers surplus resources, that is supply-centric, and that serves national security.

9414

CSO: 2500/135

## SOLIDARITY DEFENSE COMMITTEE ORGAN PROFILES WRON MEMBERS

Berlin POGLAD in Polish No 1, 30 Jan 83. pp 26-27

/Article: "Reprint for Solidarity; Informational Bulletin No. 51; Documents; Declarations; Relations; Who's Who in the Military Council for National Salvation /WRON/"; date and location not specified."

/Text/ The most conspicuous personalities are the following generals: Florian Siwicki and Czeslaw Piotrowski. The remainder represent a passive mass awaiting the chief's instructions, and developing his ideas. General Siwicki is a little known figure in society and among lower military echelons. Prior to assuming the position of chief of General Staff, he was district commander of the army and commanded the disgraceful expedition into Czechoslovakia. He gained nothing from military theory (or practice) and is not the best of speakers. Nevertheless, in the circles of higher commanders, he enjoys indisputable authority--he is responsible for preparing the army and nation to the time of "W". In his work he is conscientious, dependable, objective. How he thinks and feels is difficult to hide, perhaps he dreams of the position of minister of national defense.

General Czeslaw Piotrowski comes from Polesie. At the age of 19 he had a choice between 2 underground armies, the Home Army /AK/ and the Red Army. He chose the latter. He completed advanced technical studies at the Woroszylow Military Academy. He defended his doctorate at the General Staff Academy in the field of military engineering. He possesses considerable literary accomplishment by army standards. He went through all levels of command in army engineering. He attracted greater attention (very positive) of his superiors as chief of army engineering. In his work, he is very resolute, demanding, courageous in undertaking difficult decisions. He will not tolerate opposition from subordinates, among equals or higher in rank--controversial. For the longest time he is openly at odds with Gen. Molczyk in the area of combat concepts. In private life, he is on friendly terms with Gen. Kuropieski, and likewise at one time with the former minister of shipping and merchant marine, Szopa (the latter was recalled by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid /RWPG/, and is now trying for other higher positions). Gen Piotrowski being very ambitious in the service, strives for one-man control. In the army as a rule, he selected as his seconds-in-command, people who were very mediocre and incompetent. It cannot be precluded that the position of minister of mining and energy may not satisfy him--he will seek and seeks the position of vice minister at the very least. In WRON circles he passes as one who is material for a civilian position.



Gen Eugeniusz Molczyk is related to the highest Moscow Military circles through his wife. In case of war, he is expected to take command of the front. His staff, (the schooling inspectorate), being rather limited and narrow-minded, represents a group cadre which is on the lowest level of all central institutes of the ministry of national defense, and is referred to as the "Black Tomb" in secret circles. In view of this position in the army, he plays a key role and enjoys the greatest of trust in Moscow. He is a relentless enemy of the Polish Defense Concept developed by his predecessor in that position, Gen Zygmunt Duszynski. He collaborates directly with Kulikow in many matters. Jaruzelski deals with him a lot.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski--a pedantic advocate and author of useless military rules and regulations and ceremonials. Internally and externally excessively disciplined from his first days of military service, (it is possible that because of this, successive governing parties permitted him to retain his post. Always loyal to respective authorities, demanding of himself and others. Very assiduous. In work he is guided by the schematic form of military thinking (purpose, decision, order). He diligently observes principles controlling his decisions. Eager for authority (this trait became evident in him while yet a young officer and with the passing of years was never extinguished in him). In spite of this diligent and relatively superior military knowledge, he never issued anything in print. It must be taken into consideration that in highly-occupied positions, there is the desire to survive at all costs (there is no talk of dismissal). He has an excessively high opinion of himself and surrounds himself with circles of flatterers. It is more than certain that he will commit flagrant errors, and not being very critical, he will not bring himself to correct them.

9951

CSO: 2600/431

SOLIDARITY EXILE INTERVIEWED PRIOR TO RETURN TO POLAND

Vienna PROFIL in German No. 6, 7 Feb 83, p 6

[Interview with Solidarity leader Mieczyslaw Tarnowski: "Prisons are Becoming Monuments." Date and place of interview not indicated]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Tarnowski, 37, had been invited to Switzerland by the Swiss Trade Union Congress as a member of Solidarity's regional council in Lower Silesia. He was overtaken there by the imposition of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981. Tarnowski was thereafter active in the Swiss office of Solidarity and found work in an aluminum factory. The coal miner from Walbrzych last week returned by car to Poland by way of Vienna and Czechoslovakia.

[Question] Why, as a Solidarity activist, are you returning to Poland?

[Answer] The announcement of the trial of seven leading members of Solidarity helped me to make my decision. Since the accused were only representing the views of all trade union members, I felt that I had also been charged. These people have been accused of wanting to overthrow the social order in Poland. This is a charge that can even call for the death penalty. This show trial is intended to intimidate Polish workers and to destroy the self-confidence that grew out of the Gdansk agreement.

[Question] You're not afraid that you might be arrested immediately upon your arrival in Poland?

[Answer] Of course. But I believe that even if thousands of Solidarity activists were to be imprisoned, the prisons would become a living monument to the idea of Solidarity. The fact that since the imposition of martial law thousands of persons have been condemned on the most threadbare of charges has contributed nothing toward reaching a solution of the Polish crisis. Under martial law the government has had unlimited powers to carry out reforms. Despite this, not a great deal has been changed in Poland's economic situation.

[Question] Solidarity has now been forbidden, there are new trade unions. How are the workers supposed to bring about a new legalization of Solidarity?

[Answer] Solidarity was always in favor of pluralism. If the authorities want to have their own trade unions, fine. But the workers should also have the union they want.

[Question] The Solidarity leadership now underground just recently threatened a new general strike. The call for a strike last November found no response. How effective is the strike as a weapon now, if at all?

[Answer] Last November it was a question of a strike lasting only a few hours. It miscarried. The chances for a nation-wide general strike now have to be assessed altogether differently.

[Question] Aren't the workers too disillusioned for such a step?

[Answer] The general strike may seem to be a desperate measure, but it is our strongest weapon. We have no choice. If we abandon all means of protest then we find ourselves in the position of a slave who no longer sees any future in his life.

[Question] Isn't there the threat of a split among the workers now? Through incentives such as larger food rations or cheap vacation resorts, couldn't many workers sooner or later join the new unions?

[Answer] Immoral measures like that are always possible. But the self-confidence of Solidarity followers is still too great. The only way out of this dilemma is to allow the workers once again to have a voice and that power be shared. Otherwise even terrorist activities in Poland are possible. It can't be ruled out that a small group of desperate people could be capable of this. The authorities would, of course, lay the blame for such attacks on Solidarity. Yet despite the latest wave of repressions, Solidarity's leadership is still in favor of a dialog with those in power.

[Question] In part, the workers seem to have given up their active resistance. You yourself are a coal miner. Coal production rose during the past year.

[Answer] You have to keep in mind under what conditions this reported rise in production was achieved. Last year 52 coal miners died in accidents and most of these accidents occurred on weekends when miners are once again required to work without regard for their health. Since the coal seams outside urban areas have now been played out, coal is now being mined below residential areas. This has led to major damage to buildings, yet this is not taken into account as a cost factor. No one seems to care how much housing stock is lost in this way.

[Question] Does the Polish Church still stand behind the outlawed Solidarity?

[Answer] Cardinal Glemp faced criticism from his own priest when he urged the country's actors to give up their boycott of the television. But the Church will not deny Solidarity its support. It knows that the elimination of Solidarity would be followed by an assault upon the Church. The Church would be the first to be aware of this.

[Question] What will you do after you return to Poland? Will you go back to the coal mines?

[Answer] I'd like to go back to work at my old job and continue to be active in the trade union movement. But I don't know what this activity would look like in the present situation.

[Question] Would you advise other Poles who have fled from martial law to go back to their homeland now?

[Answer] If someone feels that his place is at home with the workers in Poland, then he ought to return home. Yet if someone feels that he can better serve the cause by working for Solidarity abroad, then he should remain in the West. Each one has got to do what his inner convictions dictate.

9878

CSO: 3620/223

DEFENSE COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON DEMILITARIZATION REPORTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by G. B.: "Statutes and Decrees During the Period of Martial Law Suspension; Rights and Duties of Workers"; date and place not disclosed.]

[Text] A starting point in determining the applicable scope of decrees in Articles 206 of the decrees in 18 December 1982 statute dealing with specific legal regulation during the period of martial law suspension, lies in securing answers to questions concerning the repeal of militarization as related to those institutions that were subjected to it during the period of martial law. National Defense Committee resolution no 6/82 of 27 December 1982 on matters of militarization possesses fundamental significance here.

The following principles evolve from the decrees of that resolution:

1. In conjunction with the suspension of martial law, militarization is confined to organizational units that are subject to:
  - a. Minister of internal affairs: organizational units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Chief Command of the Civic Militia [M O] (in conjunction with Safety Service and Health Service) and other organizational units of the ministry on internal matters, reserve divisions of the Civic Militia, as well as the Chief Command of Fire-Fighters, together with directly subordinate organizational units;
  - b. Minister of justice: penal service and industrial enterprises functioning in penal institutions and investigative arrests;
  - c. Minister of national defense: institutions and military units in which civilian personnel is employed;
  - d. Minister of agriculture and food economy; Institute of Meteorology and Water Control in Warsaw, together with subordinate regional divisions in Bialystok, Katowice, Krakow, Poznan, Slupsk, Warsaw, Wroclaw and Gdynia.



e. Regional organs of the national administration: provincial commands, regional fire-fighters, as well as organizational units of professional fire-fighters subordinate to provincial and regional fire-fighting commands.

2. As for other organizational units of the national administration and national economy thus far committed to militarization, it will be repealed according to terms established by the ministers, central directors of government offices, as well as presidents of central bureaus, cooperative unions, and also governors and presidents of cities with provincial status. The abolition of militarization in those institutions does not then follow automatically at the moment martial law is suspended. The decision of authorized persons is necessary for this purpose, in which instance a fixed date is specified for the repeal of militarization in that decision. A decision of this nature is to be issued in no later than 30 days, and with regards to Polish State Railways [PKP] and Polish Motor Transport [PKS] and the management of district public roads together with subordinate organizational units--in no later than 90 days, beginning with 1 January 1983.

On the basis of the above regulations, it must be stated that regarding personnel employed in those units in which militarization is in force, the decrees of the 21 November 1967 statute dealing with the general obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic [PRL] continue to apply (text in the GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND LAWS GAZETTE [DZIENNIK USTAW] of 1979, no 18, item 111) incorporated in particular in its ordinance 7. At the present moment, a draft of procedures is being fully studied by the Supreme Court on the basis of this statute, and in particular in the resolution of the consistory of 7 Supreme Court judges of 27 February 1982 (Enterprises under State Administration [PZP] 7 82, Decision of the Supreme Court no 8-9, item 113).

Can decrees of articles 2-5 of the 18 December 1982 statute apply to personnel performing services in units in which militarization remains in force? The placing of such a question is warranted by the substance of Article 198 of the 21 November 1967 statute regarding the general obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic in compliance with which "in matters not regulated in the statute, the right-to-work decrees apply to persons performing services in militarized units..."

In dealing with this subject, it should be stated that the decrees in Articles 2 and 3 of this statute will not apply to personnel performing service in units in which militarization remains in force. This flows not only from the grammatical tenor of these decrees ("...in militarized units, in which militarization will be abolished during the period of martial law suspension..."), but also from the fact that the problems treated in Articles 2 and 3 of the 18 December 1982 statute were regulated in the 21 November 1967 statute (cf. article 189 of statute 1 and article 191 of that statute).

However, complete application of articles 4 and 5 of the 18 December 1982 statute cannot be excluded. For if an employee performing a service in a unit in which militarization remains in force quits work or is dismissed immediately due to his fault, then independently of sanctions which follow from the decrees of the 21 November 1967 statute, he will suffer the consequences provided for by article 4 of the 18 December 1982 statute.

Similarly, if an employee at a militarized unit, for example, participates in an illegal gathering, then the director of the militarized unit can at that time--on the basis of article 189, statute 3, point 2 of the 21 November 1967 statute--dismiss him from service, and in the event of litigation before a revocatory board or labor court can prove that the employee is not entitled to compensation rights during the period of renunciation (in accordance with the legal principle of 27 February 1982), because of the occurrence of circumstances in article 5 of statute 1 of the 18 December 1982 law which takes into account the dissolution of a labor contract without notice, due to the employee's fault.

Among the decrees of articles 2-5 of the 18 December 1982 statute concerning specific legal control, 3 groups can be singled out.

First--this concerns articles 2 and 3--regarding places of work thus far committed to militarization in which--during the period of martial law suppression--militarization was abolished. It can also concern--on the strength of the decision of the Council of Ministers--those plants that produce goods covered by operational programs, as well as plants filling government orders so-called, in the spirit of article 54 of the 25 September 1981 statute on national enterprises (DZIENNIK USTAW no 24, item 122).

The second group of decrees--reference is made here to article 4--concerns employees in all socialized employment plants.

Finally, article 5 of the statute already refers to all employment plants (socialized, as well as non-socialized).

We shall discuss these matters in subsequent publications.

9951

CSO: 2600/386

CZECHOWICZ SPEAKS ON YOUTH PROBLEMS, PARTY STAND

AU010859 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25-27 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Czechowicz, PZPR Politburo member, chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Youth Commission and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Lodz by Kazimierz Treger and Marek Truszkowski: "The Party Must Win..."--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Many people, including the young, are averse to the party, which, they think, does not keep the promises it makes to the people. At the same time, they say that they would join the party if they could "profit" by this, one way or another. What will you say to this?

[Answer] First, you should know that the party continues to implement its program and to promote certain ideals. I do not wish to discuss these issues in general because at our next plenum we will adopt an ideological-programmatic declaration that states the party's aims and ideals. However, every young person should bear in mind that the fact that we are aware of our tasks and aims does not mean that they can be automatically implemented. The young often say that they are disappointed and we say to them that the party has implemented its programs, which are often ambitious and are at times beyond our state's economic potential, with the help of all our people and not merely of the party's leading bodies. That is why the analysis of the past period must be more comprehensive. We all must ask ourselves whether we have worked efficiently. Of course, I do agree with those who say that the government bears the greatest responsibility.

Another thing we should remember is that the party does not act in isolation. It is subjected to the pressure of various external forces, including the opposition. This hinders us in our activity and delays the implementation of programs beyond the appointed schedules. In addition, the state of our economy has prevented the fulfillment of our people's expectations. We have always been poor and always just on the way to prosperity.

I think it is absurd to assume that people want to join the party only because this will help them obtain an apartment or a car. I attend many meetings and talk with people. They regard party membership as increased duties and responsibilities and frequently as submission to total criticism and confrontation.

[Question] Now we know that our material conditions limit the party's ability to implement its ideological program. At the same time, everyone continues to wonder what kind of socialism we will have in Poland. After all, we have private lands, handicrafts and trade and we even have foreign capital. Do you think that the coming 12th Party Plenum--especially in view of our experience in recent years--will tell us about the vision of socialism as affected by our Polish conditions?

[Answer] I think that we should safeguard the state's basic political principles. After all, the production means are owned by the state and people. We should also keep in mind that socialism must not be identified with the term of "an empty table." We must create such mechanisms of our country's development that will make our people think of socialism as a synonym of prosperity. At the same time, socialism must guarantee equal career, educational and other opportunities for everyone, but this does not mean that it must guarantee equal material conditions, which will be determined by one's work measured by correct criteria.

The 12th Party Plenum must declare that our state is socialist and explain what this means. However, we must not reject the cooperation from the private sector and from handicrafts and even from foreign capital. If course, this will be so where we are unable to create production capacities ourselves. We must also take a realistic view of the rural areas. The farmer who will sell large amounts of his produce to the state will be a good farmer. Nor must we--in the name of so-called ideological purity--tolerate the existence of a mass of dwarf farms, which will merely drag us backward. A poor farmer is not and cannot be a model of socialism. Aside from state farms and producer cooperatives we need strong and highly productive private farms. We must also create taxation mechanisms that will make such farms profitable for farmers and the state.

Of course, all this does not relieve us of the duty to ponder at the 12th Party Plenum on how equitably to share what we produce--that is, how to share our national income with justice. At the same time, we must ponder how to create the income to be shared.

[Question] Speaking of ideological matters: Some people find it vexing that the "old" is returning in discussions prior to the 12th Plenum. The young keep asserting that old people and concepts are being dragged out of obscurity....

[Answer] The party discussion of ideology began a year ago. The ideological-programmatic declaration, which is being extensively discussed in many communities, is a result of various trends. This is politics. It is necessary to take into account the impetus of discussions among party members and the variety of views. Politics is for the most part neither white nor black; however, our people would like it to be either black or white.

I agree with the young that present discussions are full of differing views. However, we should have enough courage and political culture to listen to various views. We are just beginning to acquire this culture. It is rarely that we are able to listen to the end to anyone who has different views from ours.

[Question] We often hear: I have to join the party because if I do not I will not be promoted. Even the best expert has few chances if he is nonparty. Nomenklatura hands over one's head....

[Answer] If people are convinced that this is so then their conviction is a result of old practices. The party is now for flexibility of cadre policy, and you can see this in the composition of our government, to say the least. No party can afford leaving aside young capable people.

[Question] It is in plants that the promotion of young people matters most, but the development of the necessary promotion criteria in plants leaves very much to be desired.

[Answer] First, every plant should evaluate the young cadre and select its most talented and able members. A good chief should enable young people to show their paces. Second, we lack consistency in our work with cadres. We know how to organize a competition for young rationalizers, inventors, masters of harvest and so on, and we often think that we have done everything when we give one a small banner, a diploma or a prize.... This is often all we do. We lack the habit of consistent work with talented people because such work often involves many difficulties since such people deviate from the "normal" standards, are more impulsive, often want to change everything in defiance of the older people's customs and are even balky. However, a good manager knows how to evaluate not only a "yes man," but also the individual who holds different views, is able to prove them and to share in implementing his ideas.

[Question] State assistance and priorities for the young are consistent with the 9th Plenum resolution, but the thing is that before the plenum and some months after it there was a great deal of noisy propaganda about youth affairs. Various meetings vied in launching initiatives to accord with that resolution. Today these things have quieted down and youth problems seem to have receded into the background.

[Answer] Let us look the truth squarely in the eye: The extensive discussions before and after the 9th plenum upset large sections of our people. The older people even assumed that they had nothing to say and that the arena would be held only by the young. We have to maintain moderation.

But to the point: The Central Committee Youth Commission, the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs and Minister Ornat have worked out a program to control the implementation of the relevant decisions and resolutions. The party has already made its point regarding model solutions. The government has made many decisions concerning the program for young people's jobs and careers. At present all organizations and institutions appointed to tackle young people's problems will continue to control the implementation of the tasks in question.

[Question] At the conference of the Lodz Party Organization you said that the party has assumed the duty of carefully analyzing public needs, moods and expectations. This poses the issue of the information channels, about which even party members were concerned. Do the present channels of information credibly reflect the life of our people?



[Answer] We conduct our analysis with the help of various channels. The first and principal channels are party meetings and meetings between managements and work forces. The second extremely important channel is letters addressed to the authorities, offices and editorial teams. These letters provide rich information. Another channel is the so-called teams of worker advisors, which we have set up in this difficult period of time. These teams are made up of genuine workers, who are not members of any authority. In Lodz these teams are attached to the party committee and the city mayor. They most often discuss and tackle very touchy problems and provide valuable information about various issues and moods. Still another institution is the weekly telephone conversations between members of the leadership of the City Office in Lodz and Lodz inhabitants.

Someone may say: What of it? Well, this is the question of the perception of needs and the potential of implementing them....

Our authorities have many sources of information, but what they lack is the potential to fulfill various expectations and postulates. We must also realize that there are forces within our people and abroad which do not give us any help in solving many problems. We must reckon with this.

CSO: 2600/543

WARSAW PARTY MEMBERS DISCUSS NECESSARY ACTIVITY

AU031220 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 5

[Report by Teresa Gawerska, Elzbieta Halenowa and Andrzej Murat: "The Reports Conference of the PZPR Organization in Warsaw--Discussion"]

[Excerpts] Jan Mackiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Town Meeting in Pruszkow:

The ideological struggle is our most difficult struggle. When the reports campaign ended, many party organizations held meetings on ideological subjects. We have some 100 lecturers and agitators, we try to respond to criticism and answer every question and every letter and we continue to explain the nature of new trade unions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. However, many factors make our efforts to transform social perception difficult and slow.

Zbigniew Serwicki, first secretary of the Plant Committee in the Ursus Machinery Combine:

The picture of the 16,000-strong work force in the Ursus Combine is different from what is shown to the public. The reality of the labor world is painful, and workers continue to ask with increasing frequency whether what is taking place in our economy is not a result of hostile activities. When translated into practice, correct programs become an impossible burden for the labor world. How, in this situation, can you argue with people that the chosen road is the right one and how can you boost the status of the party organization? These are disturbing features. The excess of inflationary money is not stored in workers' pockets. Many working people are short of the money necessary to pay for their food rations. That is why you must tell the people where this excessive inflationary money is. Where are the wages about which most workers can only dream? After all, high wages are paid under the watchful eyes of bank directors and economic secretaries. The atmosphere among the people is tense, and the party should listen to what they have to say. You must ensure that the situation as seen from above tallies with what really takes place down below. Z. Serwicki stressed that now that trade unions are still weak and active only within factory structures, open party meetings should be one way to reach workers. He also discussed the development of the Ursus Combine because its work force does not know what its future will be. I am being brusque, he said, but this is how I understand my party duty.

PZPR Politburo member Albin Siwak took the floor to reply according to his rights. Discussing Z. Serwicki's statement, he stressed that criticism is correct if it starts with oneself, with one's own backyard.

Wanda Dabrowska, Plant Committee secretary of the R. Luksemburg Factory:

An enormous cult of cunning has developed in our country. Private initiative continues to amass millions and millions of zlotys, while workers have to give up the privilege of the 8-hour day in order to earn extra money with extra work. The poor sections of our people--those who are mostly responsible for the production of our national income--have reached the end of endurance. Market difficulties are often intensified by the dreadful quality of the goods we buy. Where are the appropriate party organizations? Why do they not react? Much is being said about excessive employment in factories, but nothing is being said about such excesses in administration. You should carefully listen to workers' voices because you see things differently from above. You should know that grudges against the party and the government are grist to our adversaries' mill. There is no place in the socialist state for the extremes of riches and pauperism.

Michal Rusiecki, a farmer from Leoncin rural parish:

It seems to me that either our agriculture has not understood the economic reform or this reform's impact on agriculture is wrong. How can you explain the fact that in my rural parish and in other parishes the number of cattle and hogs is going down? Workers accuse us of failing to produce enough food and of increasing prices. But where is it that prices are being increased? Farm produce prices go up somewhere between the farmer and the consumer. Why? In the old days one official could do the job in the rural parish. Now several officials are supposed to do that job. There are too many intermediaries in the trade with farm produce and livestock. Can we be self-sufficient in food? Yes, we can. I remember how at the beginning of the 1970's the state found it difficult to cope with the abundance of farm produce deliveries. If farmers now cultivate what is more profitable for them is this not adapting oneself to the existing situation?

Rafal Lakowski, director of the State Publishing House for Scholarly Work:

R. Lakowski discusses the attitudes of the intelligentsia toward socioeconomic changes. As a party organization, he said, we launched the struggle for that community and its interests. The propagators of the slogan "cultural desert" seem to have forgotten that it was the conditions of the socialist state that made it possible for them to produce their best works. Many representatives of the creative intelligentsia regarded their party membership as a means for promoting their careers. Those who have remained in our ranks put ideological prowess above everything else. Warsaw is a cultural center, and this is why the Warsaw party organization should have a great say in cultural matters.

Feliks Jancewicz, foreman in the Warszawa Foundry:

He who was and is motivated enough to be with the party for better and for worse and who often listens to ridicule, slanders and even threats is now a communist. The crisis--not only the economic crisis--is continuing, and the elimination of its consequences, especially on workers perception, is still far off. People continue to ask with increasing frequency what kind of socialism our socialism is to be. Party activists need support so that primary party organizations are more effective in action. Many party members continue to be passive and to wait and see. The rank-and-file party members complain that no one takes notice of what they have to say.

Colonel Edward Klosowski, commander of the Warsaw Militia:

He stressed that the abolition [zniesienie] of martial law and its rigors as well as the release of internees had not weakened the militancy of our political adversaries, who take advantage of some scientific and creative communities, sections of reactionary clergy and even students to promote their activities. At the same time, the crisis is helping to increase criminality, while anti-militia propaganda is hindering the functioning of the criminal investigation organs. The increase in the number of criminal offenses is especially disturbing. The lack of market balance favors the increase in speculation and profiteering, which is caused inter alia by a lack of internal control checks in factories. The militia needs the public's extensive support in the struggle against these features. He stressed that the militia and the security service will focus their efforts on safeguarding the state's basic political interests, on ensuring public law and order, on protecting the economy against interference with the economic reform, on preventing and more effectively fighting crime and on curbing the reasons for and results of crime.

Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the Primary Party Organization of the Warsaw literary community:

The adversary has not been able to induce writers to join the internal and external boycott. Those who sought to disrupt the party have been eliminated from party ranks. Responsible activists have rallied around the Executive Committee of the Primary Party Organization.

Andrzej Kawka, chief editor of SZKOLA ZAWODOWA [VOCATIONAL SCHOOL]:

He drew the conference's attention to the importance of the young generation's training. Attempts are being made today, he said, to blame teachers for the attitudes of the young generation and to forget the important role played by the home and the parents' attitudes toward various phenomena in youth training. Teachers experience the most trouble with the children of some parents who are well known. This is no accident. For most young people socialism is moral values and social justice. He leveled sharp criticism against attempts to undermine the meaning of the Teacher's Charter, stressing that the struggle for the charter had been a dispute over a model of instruction and the socialist nature of education.

Andrzej Krasicki, chairman of the team of the Primary Party Organizations of the Warsaw theater community:

In the past theater programs were dominated by destructive or contentious plays. The Warsaw theatrical community takes the view that national plays should be included in theater programs. The party theatrical community drew up the necessary programmatic proposals for the Warsaw theaters, but unfortunately, they have been not heeded this season.

Stanislaw Pietrzak, brigade leader in the POLMOS liquor plant in Jozefow, Ozarow rural parish:

The group of native millionaires is growing, and discontent may explode against the backgrounds of economic injustice. That is why we need a correct taxation system as soon as possible. If agriculture is to feed us we need to do more than just guarantee peasant ownership. Farmers' working conditions are also important.

Zbigniew Ducin from the Ursus Machinery Combine:

If the development of the Ursus Combine is as favorable as Minister Lukosz [Metallurgy and Machinery Industry] asserts, then why is there no guarantee that construction work will be completed? Z. Ducin asked, taking advantage of his right to intervene. What next? Comrade Minister, come to us for a frank party talk. And as for the rationing coupons, when was it that you, Comrade Minister, talked about this problem with workers? We talk quite a lot about it with them and we know that families with many children and with wives who have no jobs outside the home have no money to buy rationed goods. Comrade Premier [presumably W. Jaruzelski], we invite you to visit the Ursus Combine unannounced because our situation is difficult, even though our average wages amount to about Z12,000.

CSO: 2600/544



## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### First Secretary Stanislaw Miskiewicz Comments

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 24 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wab): "Veterans of the Workers Movement Meet With the PZPR Voivodship Committee"]

[Text] As part of the celebrations commemorating the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Great Proletariat, a meeting between the leadership of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR with the activists of the workers movement in our voivodship took place yesterday. It followed visits to a commemorative exhibit at the Museum of the City of Szczecin and the POLICE Chemical Plant.

In the course of the meeting, the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, handed to eighty activists special congratulatory letters and books by Szczecin authors: "Red Stars, White Eagles" by T. Karwacki and "Watchful Dreams" by R. Liskowacki.

Afterwards a discussion about the past and the present of the Polish workers movement developed. The former activists of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland], PPR [Polish Workers Party] and PPS [Polish Socialist Party] participating in the meeting spoke with great concern about the state of minds and hearts of today's youth. They called for undertaking intensive ideological and educational work among school and college teachers.

They pointed out that the party's strength lies in action, not in holding a membership card. They expressed concern about the decrease in the last two years of the influx of young workers into the party. The veterans of the workers movement also spoke about closer cooperation between party organizations aimed at reaching young people and winning them over to the party.

Stanislaw Miskiewicz in his presentation described the current state of the voivodship organization and the most essential tasks for the party members today, pointing out that the most important issue now is the strengthening of the party ranks.

Thanking the veterans of the workers movement participating in the meeting, he said that the whole voivodship organization will benefit from their rich political and personal experience.

#### Szczecin Plenum on Young Generation

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 10-11-12 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Macz): "They Are to Educate the Young Generation"]

[Text] Yesterday a plenum of the voivodship organization of the PZPR, under the leadership of Stanislaw Miskiewicz, deliberated. The deliberations were devoted to the discussion of ideological, educational and political work in the Szczecin educational environment. The report of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board, which initiated the discussion, was delivered by the Voivodship Committee Secretary, Z. Pedzinski. Numerous guests, including a group of activists and educators from Szczecin schools, participated in the deliberations.

Opening yesterday's session, Stanislaw Miskiewicz said that it followed the resolution of the 19th Reporting and Electoral Conference of the PZPR in Szczecin. Moreover, the deliberations were preceded by a thorough analysis of the situation in the Szczecin educational environment, beginning with the year 1980 until the present.

In the course of the deliberations it was concluded that despite the difficult and complex social and political situation which took place in August 1980, an overwhelming majority of teachers in our voivodship demonstrated great civic responsibility and discipline, expressed in undertaking the educational and didactic process with the beginning of the 1980/81 school year. The school administration also showed great involvement. Moreover it was affirmed that in order to meet the demands made earlier by the POP [Basic Party Organization] and the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Association] centers, and voiced more sharply after August 1980, on 18 September 1980 the first protocol in Poland of the settlements of talks between the representatives of the Ministry of Education, voivodship administrative authorities, the ZNP and representatives of the Education Employees' Commission in Szczecin, was signed.

Evaluating the later, post-August 1980 development of the situation in education, it was stated that the escalation of unfavorable developments in the country influenced the situation in educational institutions. Under those conditions they had difficulty in carrying out educational work, because the social and political moods carried over to children and youth. As time went by, even schools having great traditions and achievements in educational work, in organizing extracurricular activities and in youth organizations' work, underwent a loosening of discipline, often influenced by teachers who applied various forms of pressure on the school administration and PZPR members. In the period discussed, the political enemy directed a sharp attack against socialist youth unions functioning in the schools, namely, the ZHP [Polish Scouts Association] and ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]. In some

institutions the secularity principle was violated. This found its expression in hanging up religious insignia in schools.

The greatest unrest was recorded in the high schools; for example, Lyceum No 1 in Szczecin, and in vocational schools. On the other hand, the Zespól Szkół Zawodowych [Economy Schools Group], Mechanics Technical School, and Elementary Schools Nos 2, 6, and 36 in Szczecin, as well as Zespól Szkół Zawodowych No 1 in Stargard, gave examples of positive behavior.

As a result of political evaluation of the educational authorities and personnel cadres, 67 persons left supervisory positions. Disciplinary talks were held with teachers who had carried out harmful activity. Two hundred and sixty-six teachers were subjected to such talks.

Seventeen speakers participated in the discussion, and some of the opinions expressed were entered in the deliberations protocol. Zygmunt Szydlowski, director of Lyceum No 1 in Szczecin, broadly discussed the deficiencies in the long-range system of educating the youth. He said that in his opinion, educational plans called long-range, lack precisely long-range thinking in anticipating the future.

Tadeusz Jedraszak, the representative of the Parents' Committee for the Economy Schools Group, talked at length about how much parents, associated in parents' committees, can achieve.

A Szczecin actor Jerzy Wasowicz, in his turn, presented during yesterday's deliberations his observations on the subject of the educational role of theater with regard to school youth. J. Wasowicz noted that while our theater attendance rates the highest in the world, the truth is that school youth are handed tickets and ordered to go to the theater; the program is not important, only the statistics...

In the conclusion of the discussion Waclaw Kupper, deputy minister of education, came forward to thank Szczecin party authorities on behalf of his department for tackling this subject and said that the plenary session of the Voivodship Committee in Szczecin is the first one in the country discussing this question.

At the end of the deliberations, a resolution laying out the directions for further activity in the Szczecin educational environment was undertaken. Closing this point of the deliberation, S. Miskiewicz noted that the multidirectional discussion which developed during the plenum confirmed the justness of bringing up for discussion the questions connected with the political, ideological and educational activity in the Szczecin educational environment.

## Miskiewicz's Radio Comments in Szczecin

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 13 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by W. Jurczak: "Stanislaw Miskiewicz Converses With Listeners of 'Studio Baltyk' Radio Program"]

[Text] This morning at 6:30, engineer Stanislaw Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin, began a conversation with the inhabitants of our region, listeners of the "Studio Baltyk" radio program.

Telephone number 23-00-5 was offered for the listeners of the Szczecin Polish Radio broadcast to call. The first secretary of the Voivodship Committee was on duty at the telephone. A journalist of the KURIER was listening at his radio set. The first party of the dialogue, interrupted by numerous calls from radio listeners, consisted of several "enterings on the air," in the course of which S. Miskiewicz answered questions directed to him earlier by people from various localities and from Szczecin.

6:45 AM; a short conversation with the "Studio Baltyk" journalists about the opportunities and perspectives of the Szczecin marine economy. Let us recall that S. Miskiewicz is also a deputy chairman of the Marine Commission of the PZPR Central Committee.

"The past year was favorable for the development of the marine economy of Szczecin and the region. In the whole nation's marine economy, Szczecin amounts to 40 percent of this industry. For the first time in our recent history, we are trying to make the society aware that the sea enriches and feeds. In the past year several important decisions were undertaken: the 10th Plenum of party Central Committee pointed out clear, realistic directions for the marine economy's development," said S. Miskiewicz.

Some important information about the actions in the voivodship aimed at the improvement of environmental protection and opportunities for housing development. "In Szczecin and the voivodship, over 100,000 people are waiting for apartments. Building one-family houses is an important opportunity for resolving the problem..."

This statement was interrupted by a call from a listener: "I am interested in what you have said about one-family home building. What kind of relief and aid will be offered by the authorities?" and an instant reply: "The current year will be the starting period for this type of housing. In the past year building lots were prepared in localities. Unfortunately, not all the plans have been successful. Our purpose is to devote in the next few years 40 percent of housing for small towns and localities. In order to meet the needs, each year about 7,000 apartments ought to be built. Such a number was being built a few years ago. The resolution of the Voivodship Committee of the party in the question of developing housing construction in small localities will be realized; in the view of the next few years it will turn out that housing opportunities in small localities will be bigger than in large agglomerations..."

Another call from a listener: "Do you know how large amounts of fresh bread are being carried away from Szczecin bakeries to feed the livestock of Kurow farm? I am an employee of the Meat Industry Transportation Enterprise in Szczecin and I personally have transported not long ago 5,000 bread loaves from the bakery on Lukasinski Street..."

The first secretary of the Voivodship Committee announces that this signal about wastefulness will be followed up on.

A conversation with a radio journalist about earnings. Here the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee answers the question about his earnings --18,000 per month. Next comes the problem often brought up in our daily conversations: the protection of the living standards of the lowest income people. Prices, the activity of the price commission in enterprises--was the next issue of the dialogue on the air.

"The members of the price commissions which were formed in Szczecin work enterprises did very valuable work. We must however realize that everybody looks at prices established by another enterprise differently than at prices of products from his enterprise," S. Miskiewicz said.

Finally, a very important part of his statement dealt with the subject of economic reform.

"The difficulties with implementing the resolutions of the reform result from conditions in which we have decided to introduce it. No other country has undertaken introduction of an economic reform in conditions of a deep crisis. No one assumed that the reform would be implemented within a year. Changes in the wage system have taken place, but tying wage increases with work efficiency has not been yet achieved. The belief that wages should be equal still remains popular.

A large part of the conversation was devoted to the problems of culture and humanities, including the founding of a university in Szczecin, as well as the publishing initiatives of KURIER SZCZECINSKI.

The conversation on the air was continuously being interrupted by telephone calls from radio listeners. Until 1 pm, at telephone number 23-00-5, S. Miskiewicz is expecting the questions and comments of "Studio Baltyk" listeners. The later part of the program, in which the Voivodship Committee secretary will be answering questions, will be aired at 5:30 pm in the afternoon program of "Studio Baltyk."

#### Walbrzych Board on Regional Situation

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Dec 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by (set)]

[Text] The Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Walbrzych has evaluated the region's social and political situation. It was pointed out that gradual normalization has been taking place, although in the recent



period leaflets and graffiti with hostile contents have appeared in several localities. It was also pointed out that the region's industry is already operating much better. In November it achieved results higher by several percent than in the same period of last year.

Problems connected with forming new trade unions were also discussed. Initiating groups already exist in 371 enterprises and include 41,000 employees. 193 founding committees have been elected. So far, 51 unions have been registered and 34 more applications are already in the Voivodship Court.

The course of the reporting campaign in basic party organizations was positively evaluated, indicating however some weaknesses, mostly organizational. Appropriate motions were accepted.

The participants in the session became acquainted with information about one-family home construction, evaluating the work of the state administration and housing cooperative movement in this domain. Comprehensive activities undertaken on behalf of this form of housing, especially recently, allow the hope that already next year visible progress will take place. The question of one-family home construction should however be given more attention by the interested parties and those who have the responsibility for it, particularly work enterprises.

The work program of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the plenary sessions of the voivodship party organizations for the first quarter of 1983 was approved.

#### Walbrzych Board on Social Needs

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (dt)]

[Text] The Executive Board of the voivodship party organization, deliberating in Walbrzych yesterday, evaluated the personnel situation in the health service and actions aimed at better meeting social needs in this area. It was also stressed that the number of physicians was insufficient for the needs of the Walbrzych region. The statistical ratio is 14.7 physicians for each 10,000 inhabitants (the national average is 18.2 physicians). The way to acquire more doctors is to sign scholarship agreements. This must be accompanied by an appropriate housing policy. Also, the utilization of the physician's time, the organization of the industrial health service, and the question of private practice, are also in need of modification. Appropriate motions were accepted.

Next, the status of the reporting and electoral campaign in the ZBoWiD [Association of Combatants for Liberty and Democracy] organizations were presented. The work performed in the course of the campaign and the social and political initiatives undertaken by the ZBoWiD members were related with appreciation. The idea of founding a regional outpatient clinic for the veterans and a veteran center was discussed.

In turn, the proposals of the informational report regarding a voivodship conference which was planned for February 3 of this year were discussed and accepted. Materials for this conference will be discussed at the next plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee on the 18th of this month.

Organizational and cadre issues were also discussed.

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CSO: 2600/363

## KRAKOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Party Tasks To Implement Resolutions

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by JW: "As There Is a Shortage of Supplementary Resources, It Is Necessary To Mobilize Our Own Resources"]

[Text] United Polish Workers' Party's Krakow Committee [KC] Plenum concerning the region's economic problems.

The subject of Saturday's plenary conference of the Krakow Party Committee was the tasks of the Krakow party organization in implementing the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's Tenth Plenum. Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the PZPR's Krakow Committee, conducted the proceedings. The participants were: Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Audit Commission; Zbigniew Szalajda, vice premier; and invited guests, including a rather large group of Krakow's enterprise directors.

Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, the PZPR's KC secretary, presented the report which introduced the region's most important sociopolitical and economic problems in the next 3 years. The goals of social policy for the country as well as for Krakow are as follows: feeding the people, providing industrial goods, halting the worsening housing situation and providing welfare support to people with the lowest incomes. A change in the direction of economic activities is approaching: from demanding a halt to the trends of decline to a strengthening and expansion of trends in growth already apparent.

Production in November was almost 1 billion zlotys higher than in October in the Krakow province. Since August, work output has been increasing. The situation shaping up in construction is less advantageous; by year's end, more than two-thirds of the forecasted numbers of apartments will not be delivered.

A sum of 15.3 billion zlotys is allocated for Krakow's needs in investment outlays for the 1983-1985 period. The proposed sum will not cover even the city's most pressing needs. The provincial planning committee has prepared

two plan alternatives for investments. The possibility of shifting resources exists only between the municipal economy and medical services, both of which absorb 77 percent of the envisioned outlays. There is a realistic choice: either increase the outlay for land development in construction and at the same time increase the number of delivered apartments, unfortunately at the cost of delaying the completion of Hospital "B" in Nowa Huta, or deliver promptly the hospital in 1985 (technically doubtful, to be sure), while at the same time, however, limiting apartment construction during the current and, especially, in the next 5-year plan.

Secretary Kaczmarek stated that the KC executive office, facing the essentially dramatic alternative, favors the first variant plan; i.e., a quick solution to the housing problem. Krakow would gain approximately 17,600 apartments in the next 3 years. On the other hand, as far as hospitals are concerned, the first real effects would only be felt after 1985 with the completion of the Nowa Huta hospital as well as the Podgorski hospital, the latter being built with NFOZ [National Health Protection Fund] funds, thus not burdening the Krakow budget. Until that time, it is envisioned, by increasing the scope of hospital renovations, to provide for the improvement of hospital operating conditions.

In the municipal economy, resources will be lacking even for such continued investments as the tram line to the "Thirtieth Anniversary" housing development, the Wieliczka-Biezanow main drain and the transportation center. Efforts are necessary in this situation to obtain additional funds from the central budget, but, above all, a more intensive than-ever-before campaign is necessary to mobilize every sort of our own resources.

The growth in industrial production up to 1985 that Krakow's enterprises have planned is alarming; at hardly 11.6 percent, it is 3.5 percent lower than the national plan. The particularly low growth rate in production of market goods is also cause for alarm.

W. Kaczmarek presented the direction of party activities in the economy toward the end of his speech, focusing singular attention on the complex of issues concerning self-governing unions. The reactivation of autonomy is proceeding too slowly; it has not yet touched even a third of the enterprises. New groups and founders' committees of new unions are working in 364 plants.

Eighteen speakers participated in the discussion. The demand for additional investment outlays was accompanied by a warning that their growth designates, after all, a limitation in consumption. Complaining about a shortage of resources in this situation is not justified, because their utilization has recently amounted to hardly 80 percent. Krakow ranks third in the country as a builder, but there will be considerably fewer apartments delivered this year than planned. The city's authorities should take the necessary steps to see to it that Krakow's builders work first and foremost for the needs of the province.

The province suffers from a severe water shortage. In three of Nowa Huta's housing developments there are daily shutoffs of water that last for several hours; in the country, the water shortage is used, among other reasons, to explain the drop in animal breeding. On the other hand, the city has 300 deep-water wells, of which hardly 15 to 20 are used. The utilization of these reserves would add 100,000 cubic meters of water daily. The effect of long-term negligence in medical service, municipal transportation, culture and rural investments was presented in dramatic pronouncements.

Vice Premier Z. Szalajda referred to many of these sensitive issues in his speech. He presented them against the backdrop of what was occurring throughout the whole country. Next year should see a growth in production of 4 percent, in wages, 14 percent, and in prices, 9 percent. Investment outlays amount to 960 billion zlotys, but only 140 billion zlotys will remain at the government's disposal (for the continuation of central investments); the rest will be divided among the enterprises. The demand for additional subsidies from there is without any real foundation. Simply put, it is necessary to better utilize the potential of existing plants in a given sphere.

After the discussion, the PZPR's KC resolution regarding the direction of the Krakow province socioeconomic development for 1983-1985 was adopted (3 abstained and 1 voted against). The plenum declared itself for the first variant of the investment plan that prefers outlays to the municipal economy. At the same time, it stressed the need to utilize all personnel, organizational and economic reserves.

As a final point in the proceedings, the plenum appointed a KC youth commission and confirmed Henryk Szydlowski to the post of chief of the PZPR's KC section of ideological-educational work. Prior to the appointment, Szydlowski was the assistant editor of the Krakow Publishing Agency's chief department.

#### Tasks After Martial Law Suspension

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Dec 82 p 2

[Article: "The Tasks of Party Organizations During the Period of Suspension of Martial Law as the Subject of PZPR KC Deliberations"]

[Text] A meeting of the first secretaries of the District Committee, Chief City Committee, Chief Headquarters and the leaders of the Regional Center for Party Work, as well as the leaders of the PZPR's KC departments, took place yesterday in the party's Krakow Committee [KC] under the chairmanship of Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the PZPR's KC.

KC Secretary Jan Broniek acquainted the gathered secretaries during the council meeting with the most important tasks of party organizations and echelons resulting from the suspension of martial law. The suspension of martial law creates new conditions and places expanded tasks on the entire party. The assertion of order and the simultaneous concern for the



development of socialist democracy and the introduction of economic reform are the most important issues. The party's political, ideological and organizational unity must be consolidated in order to cope with these issues. The resolutions of the 9th Congress, the statutes and resolutions of successive plenary meetings of the PZPR's CC are the foundation. The consolidation of the results of martial law and the party's bond with the masses, especially the working class, should be conducive to a quick emergence from the social and economic crisis.

KC Secretary Jozef Gregorczyk presented the urgent situation in agriculture and the plan for preparing for the 11th Plenum of the PZPR's CC. As in the entire economy, positive trends are also in evidence in agriculture. Preferential moves in agriculture will drive toward dissemination and consolidation of farmers' contracts for the supply of agricultural products, and a new tax system will create an incentive for good farmers who sell their products to the state. Readers will certainly be interested by the fact that price changes for food are not envisioned for next year.

Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, secretary of the PZPR's KC, treated the tasks of party organizations in implementing the resolutions of the CC's 10th Plenum and the PZPR KC Plenum. The standpoint of the Krakow Committee binds all party organizations and echelons on the issue of the 3-year plan for Krakow as well as the schedule of tasks relating to the introduction of economic reform. One of the criteria for evaluating party organizations will be the efficiency of their achieving the goals adopted by this schedule. The introduced economic reform mechanisms will be modified to increase production efficiency and labor productivity and to reduce the costs of production. These actions should be felt in the market place next year.

Council participants discussed the problems brought up by the secretaries of the Party's Krakow Committee.

#### Secretary Gregorczyk's Comments

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Gregorczyk: "What Do We Expect From the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR and the Supreme Committee [NK] of the United Peasants' Party [ZSL]?"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the PZPR will assemble to jointly debate with the Supreme Committee of the ZSL matters of consequence--problems in agriculture, food economy and rural life--on 20 and 21 January.

Extensive public consultation has preceded the plenum. The most important party authorities, peasants and workers participated in the consultation. These meetings were conducted in the plants, gmina [parishes] and collective and private farms of the province. Participating in these consultations were members of both the central and chief committees as well as workers and peasants. The results of the consultations were summarized on 7 January at a joint conference with participation by a large

representative group of farmers and the minister of agriculture and food economy, Jerzy Wojtecki.

After analyzing a number of opinions, suggestions and demands, which were made during the consultations, I isolated the following problems:

1. The creation of political guarantees for the implementation of a delineated farm policy is necessary. As experience shows, a very good agriculture development program, which had been worked out by the PZPR Central Committee's 15th Plenum, has remained for the most part on paper. Today's situation in agriculture is the result of such a treatment of the issues--all the more so, it has undermined the prestige of the authorities and created a lack of trust toward them on the part of the farmers.

2. Debating in this forum the subjects of agriculture and food economy exclusively, we expect the consequential confirmation of a farm policy as specified in "Guidelines of the Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the ZSL's Supreme Committee" and confirmed by the ZSL's 8th Congress and the party's 9th Congress. We expect this because there is much talk today about capitalization in agriculture, minimizing rural social and consumer needs, etc. Such talk vividly reminds us of the equally insipid talk about the purposefulness of purchasing the Ferguson [tractor] license after the completed purchase. This resulted solely in the production delay of the tractors. Today these tractors would really come in handy.

3. Both the "Guidelines" as well as the resolution of the 9th Party Congress included the records which clearly specify, for example, the number of deliveries of certain production resources for agriculture. Unfortunately, these guidelines have not been followed. It is, therefore, necessary to stop and think: What were the reasons? Is planning at fault? Or implementation? These issues have to be explained and reckoned with on an ongoing basis. I will give only two examples:

--It was announced in the "Guidelines" of January 1981 that the expenditure of mineral fertilizers would amount to 250 kg of nitrogen-phosphorous-potassium [NPK] in 1985. Actually, the expenditure of NPK in 1985 is forecast at 214 kg, and only 230 kg in 1990.

--It was categorically adopted in Resolution No 134/81 of the Council of Ministers, dated 12 July 1981, that an annual production of 100,000 tractors be reached in 1986. Actually, the URSUS Tractor Industry Association [ZPC] has, in fact, planned the production of 80,000 tractors in 1986, while only 87,000 by 1990.

4. There are many reserves in agriculture, some of which can be mobilized across the entire spectrum of agricultural activities. I have agrarian restructuring in mind, and also guarantees of suitable seeding and breeding materials, etc. However, much also depends on the participation and efforts on the part of the national economy in agriculture. I strongly believe that the 9th Plenum will inspire the elaboration of suitable

economic instruments, the application of which will fundamentally influence a shift of the entire national economy toward satisfying the needs of agriculture and food complex.

5. We expect that the plenary proceedings will visualize for the entire public the complexity and multiplicity of problems confronting Polish agriculture today, and that it will show a true image of rural life, which is often distorted in the day-to-day view of the public. Under the conditions of economic crisis, which our country is experiencing, we have to decide if we want to eat more and better, then we have to give up something in order to reach our goal.

I think that the problems presented above resulted from an honest approach and genuine concern, which not only the farmers themselves have expressed concerning agriculture and the food economy. I am also convinced that although I presented the problems which resulted from our discussions, I also believe that they apply to our entire agriculture as well.

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CSO: 2600/357

GORZOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Work Balance Sheet for 1982

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 30 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by (sc)]

[Text] A primary subject of deliberations at yesterday's [29 December 1982] meeting of the PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Executive Board in Gorzow was the granting of approval of the report on the Executive Board's fulfillment of its plan of work for 1982. During that period, the board held 25 meetings at which it examined 65 issues covering the most critical problems in the life of the Gorzow voivodship party organization and Gorzow society. The issues that were taken up and the motions and recommendations prepared on the basis of a careful analysis of these issues enabled the voivodship party organization to have the proper impact upon the manner and speed with which the most pressing socioeconomic problems were resolved. The Executive Board was most active in the area of political-organizational tasks both within the intraparty sphere and leading toward the normalization of the political situation, the stabilizing of the economy and the satisfaction of basic societal needs, especially in the field of supply, health care and education and upbringing. Much attention was also given to the practical implementation of the idea of national understanding, by inspiring the activism of party organizations and members in all milieus to work to strengthen PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] elements.

The Executive Board accepted the report of the execution of their meetings plan, stating that the assessment of the substantive quality and effectiveness of their work lies within the power of the voivodship reports conference.

During the next order of business, the Executive Board accepted the motions that had been made during the last plenary meeting of the PZPR KW.

The Executive Board approved the operating schedule of its meetings and their subject matter for the first half of 1983, accepting for implementation recommendations made during the discussion and changes suggested in subject matter and in the dates particular subjects are to be discussed.

During the final order of business, the Executive Board familiarized itself

with the operating schedule of preparations for the voivodship reports-programs conference, which is to be held during the last third of January 1983.

#### Preparation for Reports Conference

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 12 Jan 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (sc)]

[Text] Yesterday's [11 January 1983] deliberations of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Gorzow were dominated by problems related to preparations for the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference. The board went over its preliminary report for the approaching PZPR KW Plenum, which will be devoted entirely to an assessment of preparations for the Voivodship Reports Conference, as well as to a confirmation of the reports conference operating schedule. The report presents the entire picture of the sociopolitical and economic situation and outlines the structure of voivodship party organization work following the last reports-elections conference of this echelon, which was held on 19 June 1981. The Executive Board accepted the report and the related remarks made during the discussion. The document in its final form will be approved by the PZPR KW Plenum and thereby will attain the status of a preliminary reports for the Voivodship Reports Conference. It will be supplemented by reports on the work of the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission] and the WKR [Provincial Revision Commission]. The Executive Board likewise confirmed the date of the voivodship conference. It will be held on 24 January 1983 in Gorzow.

During the next order of business, the Executive Board approved the schedule of the approaching working plenum of the PZPR KW (14 January) which will be used to summarize all of the preparations for the Voivodship Reports Conference and to assess the reports campaign in basic party organizations and echelons.

Next, the Executive Board approved the program of festivities in the Gorzow voivodship commemorating the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Polish Army and accepted the ideological-program and organizational assumptions of this celebration. It will be inaugurated on 26 January with the celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of Gorzow.

The Executive Board likewise learned of the organizational situation and distribution of trade unions in the Gorzow voivodship. The Voivodship Court received 78 recommendations for registration, and 62 union organizations have already been registered. Nearly 19,000 members have joined them. The Executive Board advised that assistance be increased to activists and initiating groups in the creation of union organizations.

During the final order of business, the Executive Board adopted the plan and subject matter for their meetings in the first half of 1983.



Secretary Leszek Gocwinski's Comments

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Leszek Gocwinski, PZPR KW secretary in Gorzow by Franciszek Brodzik; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] The reports meetings of basic party organizations, and the plant, gmina, city-gmina and city reports conferences of delegates have already been held in our voivodship. Are there any differences between the procedures and content of the reports-elections campaign in the PZPR and the current reports campaign? What are they?

[Answer] There are many differences. New party authorities and delegates for higher level conferences, including Ninth Party Congress delegates, were elected at the 1981 program-elections meetings and conferences. During the present campaign, we are not electing new authorities: the delegates participating in the conferences are those that were elected in 1981. This is as it was generally proposed and established in the resolutions of program-elections conferences. During that campaign, which culminated in the Ninth Congress and in the party program passed at that congress, the program of social renewal in Poland, we gathered together the material that was then transformed into the party's program. Our tasks during the current reports campaign are less imposing. We are assessing the road we have traveled since the Ninth Congress, both on the intraparty plane and on the plane of socio-economic activity.

[Question] What does this assessment show?

[Answer] The voivodship conference to be held will provide us with the authoritative answers on the region. My opinion on this subject, which is based both on my knowledge of the issues and on the opinions of many other party members, including those of my comrades on the KW leadership staff, does not exhaust the subject. In hazarding an answer, I must be very cautious.

[Question] Is your caution based on the principle that it is better to be safe than sorry?

[Answer] That was uncalled for. Let us get back to the matter at hand. The facts themselves call for caution. The congress met and ended 6 months ago. It was precisely because the congress set up a substantive, persuasive program that, immediately following the congress, the Solidarity extremist group that by then led the entire organization adopted explicitly a route of all possible conflict with the party, a route to destroy the economy and the state. What they wanted in reality was first stated bluntly in Radom, but society had been led astray by slogans of democracy and the like. Undeniably, Solidarity's propaganda was effective with much of society. That this was so could be seen in the further breakdown of the economy, the increasing strikes and the growing disorientation of the people, including party members. The economy began its recovery immediately after August 1980 despite the declarations that were made then--not right after the congress,

but several months ago. Much of society returned to its sense during the December "Radom days," hence the turn taken by martial law and a further return to consciousness by society. However, the divisions did not disappear. Nor did they disappear in the party. This is evident in the legal proceedings that took place and are still taking place in the party. Our political opponents took clever advantage of the mental confusion of many party members. Our numbers have declined severely.

[Question] What are the voivodship losses, and are they real ones?

[Answer] From the time of the voivodship programs-elections conference (June 1981) until the end of December 1982, the voivodship party organization declined by 6,596 members. It now numbers 30,676 members and candidate-members, 45 percent of whom are workers, slightly more than 9 percent of whom are farmers and more than 32 percent of whom are white-collar workers. Others represent 13 percent of the total. Undoubtedly, the departure of many honest people who were misguided is a loss. The truth is, however, that most of those who left, were expelled or were crossed off the rolls never should have been in the party in the first place. Nonetheless, this sad lesson is one to be learned. If applied in party practice, it can work only toward our benefit. Certainly, the departure of characterless people is not a loss. During the difficult reports period, 119 candidate-members joined the party in the voivodship. Sixty-eight of these people were under 30 years of age. Their selection is not the sort of "window dressing" practiced so often during the 1970's.

[Question] Let us turn again to the differences between the two campaigns.

[Answer] I participated in the previous campaign and observed it from a different viewpoint, from a "grassroots" point of view, since I was not a member of the echelon, or of the KW leadership staff. There was a trend evident during that campaign to overdo criticism of anyone and anything of a higher level voiced by those who were one level or several levels down. The only reason was the difference between the levels. There was also the notorious breastbeating of others. But here again the warning: my critical remarks do not refer to those speeches made during the previous campaign that objectively analyzed and criticized the then practices of the party, the state and a specific group of people and then, equally objectively, led people to consider seriously what is indispensable, what must be done to block the road to degenerative practices in the future.

[Question] Have these phenomena occurred during the present campaign?

[Answer] It was no longer popular to criticize for the sake of criticism alone. Parenthetically speaking, many of those who cried out the loudest were elected to the authorities. What happened? They had enough fervor to last them for a single narrowminded speech. When it came time for them to lead everyday party work, to familiarize themselves with the various problems in a thorough manner and then to arrive at their position on issues, it became evident that knowledge of things and the desire to learn all about the issues was not what they expected. They had to be replaced. But note this!

Most of the new members of the party authorities took seriously their obligations emanating from being elected and rose to tasks that were not easy for them. Thus, while criticism for its own sake was no longer popular during the current reports meetings and conferences, critical statements were made. Two themes dominated the discussion. One of these was economic and social issues of the community and the country and the other was intraparty problems.

During the first part of the discussion, the still evident shortcomings in the overall operation of the economy were stressed, as was the lack of tangible results of the economic reform, the weakness of wage policy and of work organization in enterprises, continued bureaucratism in the work of the administration and the low level of employee discipline. The usual complaints, such as the lack of shoes and work clothing and the like were also voiced. In the discussion over intraparty subjects, the need was pointed out for more consistency in the implementation of the Ninth Congress program resolution. Greater efficiency in party organizations and echelons will make this possible. In this context, reference was made to the party statute. It was often stressed in many milieus that it is desirable for us to seek new forms, but sometimes one looks for something that is already contained in the statute, and the statute binds every party member and the entire POP [Basic Party Organization] and its meeting. It binds secretaries and echelons. Although the reminder to be aware of the statute may seem ironic, awareness of the statute is certainly a great plus of many current party meetings and conferences.

[Question] The status of the statute is clear. It is a meaningful manifesto, but it is subject to misunderstanding.

[Answer] Misunderstanding? Let us recall that during the 1970's, the duties emanating from the statute were somehow forgotten (perhaps the word "somehow" is unnecessary here). If the statute had been observed from top to bottom, there would not have been the degenerative practices and then the frustration that occurred in the party, there would not have been the lifeless POP's and the admittance into party ranks of anyone who showed up. There would not have been the mood swings. The statute says clearly that the party is bound by democratic centralism. If one of the elements of this principle becomes weakened in practice, what happens? Let us remember from our own experience the results of uncontrolled centralism and what democracy is without ordering rules. We know that it is not democracy but anarchy and confusion. We also know its consequences.

[Question] How was the attendance at reports meetings and conferences? How active were participants?

[Answer] Attendance at reports meetings averaged 70 percent. The attendance at conferences was better. At the city-gmina conference in Choszczno it reached 97 percent. It was nearly the same in Miedzychodz and in Pszczew it was still higher. In Drezdenek, however, fewer than 68 percent of the delegates were in attendance and in Skwierzyn, exactly 68 percent attended.

At the conferences, as a rule one-seventh, possibly one-sixth of those in attendance took the floor during discussion.

[Question] Materials for the voivodship conference are surely ready by now, as is the resolution draft emanating from previous discussion. What is next, will we be able to implement it?

[Answer] While we already have fragments of the draft prepared, we still do not have a resolution. To use the conditional mood: if we succeed in resolving the justifiable concerns that have been manifested with concrete work crowned with results, then there ought to be no serious problems with implementation. We must set in motion fully all mechanisms in the party that compel attitudes and actions in accordance with the PZPR statute and with the criteria for belonging to the party. By this I mean (it has been the subject of frequent discussion) solidity, initiative and honesty among party members who hold leadership positions. We must learn to judge them strictly and with fairness, so that they do not forget that their task is to fulfill their important duties in an orderly manner and not to believe that they are important personages. There is also another question to be considered here. In every element in which there is a POP in operation, there is always that group of a few people or more who are wise, solid, respected nonparty people who are not easily flattered. The POP that does not listen to the opinions of such people cannot look forward to results in its work and to authority in its community. Clearly I mean their opinions on economic and social issues, issues of management and society's morality and not ideology. Moreover, these are soberminded, tactful people as a rule. We cannot forget this.

#### Plenum, Resolution on Reports, Programs

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 pp k, 2

[Article by FRAB ]

[Text] Yesterday [14 January 1983] the PZPR KW Plenum deliberated in Gorzow. The basic reason for the deliberations was to assess the PZPR reports campaign in the voivodship and to approve materials for the Voivodship Party Reports Conference.

Leszek Gocwinski, PZPR KW secretary, assessed the reports campaign. During the introductory part of the meeting, the Executive Board reports proposals were also presented. This report will be the opening address for the discussion at the conference.

A report was also delivered to plenum members on the progress of regional meetings with delegates to the voivodship conference.

Since we have already reported on the progress of the reports campaign in the interview with the KW secretary published in GAZETA LUBUSKA and we will be reporting on the conference deliberations, these issues will not be covered in this article.

The following participated in the plenum discussion: Mirosław Sauter, Jerzy Stanczyk, Czesław Barlog, Ryszard Zwolak, Edward Szufiak, Edward Radecki, Michał Machnikowski, Benedykt Wisniewski and Kazimierz Dąbrowski. Controversies arose during the discussion. Some participants wanted to add more items to the materials, giving broader consideration to issues of city or plant elements and the like. Others were opposed to expanding the materials, and especially opposed making the opening report too long. Finally, it was agreed that the proposals of the report presented to plenum members would stand. These were approved with the remark that greater consideration ought to be given to the efficiency of the work of KW issues commissions. The work of these disciplined members of the KW as they exercise their statutory duties ought to be held in higher esteem, so that they do not come to be passive participants in KW plenary meetings.

Florian Ratajczak, KW first secretary and chairman of the deliberations, submitted a preliminary draft plan of KW work in 1983. It is anticipated that first analyses will be prepared and then a discussion will be carried on at plenary meetings of the echelons on such issues as housing construction and the entire complex of housing management, the food economy and an assessment of the efficiency of the administration in the light of people's recommendations and complaints. This draft plan was also approved.

At the conclusion of deliberations, the KW first secretary recalled that the Voivodship Reports Conference has the primary task of helping party members and organizations to find themselves in the current sociopolitical reality and in the improved implementation of the resolution of party organizations and echelons. There is an urgent need for us to be seen serving community initiatives. Within the party, we must increase discipline and the sense of duty. Only then will we make proper use of the suspension of martial law for the good of the entire society and the party. We know what to do, for our program is a good one. It is the program of the Ninth Congress.

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The PZPR Voivodship Committee adopted a resolution which states:

The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzów, at its 14 January 1983 meeting, resolves:

- To accept the assessment of the course of the reports campaign in POP's and basic echelons submitted in the PZPR KW Executive Board report.
- To approve reports materials and auxiliary documents and the report for the Voivodship Reports Conference of the PZPR in Gorzów.
- To call the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference on 24 January 1983.

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CSO: 2600/352



## BIALYSTOK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Perspective Political Party Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 28-29-30 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by: A. W.]

[Text] (Own Information) The Executive Board of the Province Committee [KW] of the PZPR, during its session in Bialystok, discussed the plan for the nearest and perspective activity by the political parties in matters of developing culture in the province. Krzysztof Kostyrko, head of the Culture Section of the Central Committee [CC] of the PZPR, took part in the proceedings. The program that was presented was the subject of consultations and discussions amid party architects and persons actively engaged in cultural affairs. The special role of the book, which remains as the main conveyor of recognized, esthetic values, was emphasized in the material and in the discussion. The need to increase the printing of books, as a lasting improvement of their circulation in society through, among other things, the modernization of library networks and programs of educational activity, and also the ultimate settlement of the matter--a Podlask library--was likewise noted.

A return to the proven model of activities accomplished as a whole, within the limits of agreement between cultural, sport, and tourist establishments, was postulated. There is a need to transfer particular investigations and designations of an optimal activities model to networks of cultural establishments, especially to villages, gminas, small towns and new housing estates. Attention was brought to the need to reactivate an amateur art movement, and also to cultivate expressions of creative activity by national minorities.

The Executive Board of the KW, accepting the presented plan, recommended a substantiation of the individual problems, emerging from the document announcing the tasks for party channels as well as for cultural institutions.

As the next item, the KW Executive Board accepted the calendar of political functions in the Bialystok province for the current year. Observances of anniversaries and events linked to the struggle and preservation of the people's power, socialist changes in People's Poland, as well as other historical anniversaries will become an integral part of all the ideological activi-

ties conducted by the KW PZPR. Observances of the 40th anniversary of the uprising of the Polish People's Army will play a special role this year.

The Executive Board became acquainted with the state of preparations for the Province Reports-Program Conference. Among other things, the schedule and setting of meetings which will take place for regional delegates to this conference, were discussed: the 27th of this month in Hajnowka, Monk, and Dabrowa Bialystocka; the 28th in Bielsk Podlaski, Bialystok and Lapy; the 29th of this month in Siemiatycze and Sokolka. The delegates from the town of Bialystok will meet as individual branches on these same days.

A resident of Bialystok province, Krzysztof Kostyrko--head of the Culture Section of the CC PZPR--met on the 26th of this month with workers from the Al. Wegierka Drama Theater and Puppet Theater. Taking part in this conversation, in which an entire series of issues concerning the Bialystok theater circle was touched upon, was Stefan Zawodzinski, First Secretary of the KW PZPR.

During the meetings, the current situation in theaters in our country and also the problems dealing with the form of associations of artists from the Polish stage were discussed.

#### First Secretary Jerzy Panasiuk's Interview

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polich 1 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by: Konstanty Leszczynski]

[Text] [Question] You have been first secretary for barely nine months. It is not possible to become orientated completely with the problems of the city in such a short period. Yet the present difficult situation virtually forces immediate decision making in many matters.

[Answer] The problems of the city are not new to me. I have been a member of the Executive Board of the Town Committee for 15 years and, moreover, am a native of Hajnowka. Here, in Hajnowka, the most important matters are apartment construction, commercial-service bases, municipal bases, education, health services and physical culture.

[Question] Until recently, you participated in managing the large establishment ZOZ in Hajnowka and, before then, were on the Works' Committee [KZ] in HPSDD [expansion unknown]. How much of your experience in these enterprises is useful in your current work?

[Answer] The municipal level, in my opinion, is a slightly bigger "enterprise." The problems are similar to those I encountered in HPSDD and ZOZ, only their scale differs. I think that we will be able to solve nothing without a concentration around us of people who are intelligent and engaged in city affairs. This will allow us a thorough discussion of matters before coming to a decision. Greatest effects are always achieved there where the

work is done collectively, and that is also where the fewest mistakes are made.

/Question/ It is a well-known fact, corroborated in practice, that the party cannot act without contacts with other organizations. An urgent need exists, right now, for closer cooperation between the PZPR and, especially, the ZSL, the Democratic Party /SD/ and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth /PRON/. This cooperation is not turning out successfully everywhere.

/Answer/ The party must cooperate with all those who wish to participate actively in the creation of new values, essential to the successful development of our country, and in the creation of circumstances insuring a way out of the crisis. Cooperation should depend on the bonds formed in workshops. At the municipal level we wish to take up jointly those matters affecting all of Hajnowka.

I wish to emphasize that we are vitally interested in the existence of strong ties with plants and worker's councils, representing the interests of the personnel, and knowing how to fight for their just causes.

/Question/ Today, the party can strengthen society's confidence by removing the deformations that arose in the past 10 years. It is essential, therefore, to create guarantees insuring the authorities against a repetition of the errors. What kinds of guarantees, in your opinion, should these be?

/Answer/ The first guarantee--I believe--is responsibility of active party members and administrative authorities for their decisions made. If it so happens that the decision was inappropriate, everyone should admit the error in full and bear the specified consequences. The second element in these guarantees is honest work. I understand this in very concrete terms. For example, a worker of the Province Committee /KW/ or Town Committee /KM/ should be systematically cleared on his work in his section.

/Question/ Sixteen months have already passed since the end of the proceedings of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. You have confronted the great need to fulfill scores of demands and proposals submitted by Hajnowka party organizations during the time of the pre-congress campaign. What kinds of matters did they affect?

/Answer/ We know that one can always make many, very fair demands. One must realize, however, that it is going to be possible to meet only a portion of these demands under the present conditions. Nevertheless, we are taking up all of these matters which directly serve to satisfy basic social needs--namely, problems in trade, health services, housing construction, the development of communal farming, public law and order. We must resolve the majority of these matters ourselves, and not wait for a decision from the province or central authorities. Definite actions have already been taken. Outpatient and in-patient medical care, for example, has uncommon difficulties. Specialistic Outpatients' Surgery is already in the process of development.

As the first of its kind in the city, the Regional Outpatients' Surgery will be finished next year in the Lesna Housing Estate, on the grounds of the cooperative housing building trade. And the hospital--the object of efforts for many years--will finally become a reality this year. Capital expenditure needs are numerous and growing as well. We will not do everything at once in this current economic situation. In taking up any given work, we must remember to bring that work consistently to an end.

/Question/ In speaking of the leadership role of the party, it is worth recalling the need to work out a new style of activity.

/Answer/ Until now, activity relied upon the guiding work of the channels and organizations. We are abandoning this practice. The party must be close to the affairs of all of society, and its apparatus should work with the people every day.

/Question/ How should this direct contact with society appear?

/Answer/ To begin with, no one should ever know where and when the first secretary will appear...This will allow a deeper recognition of the genuine problems within the environment, to be in the center of the people's considerations, to recognize the problems and to try and solve them. The PZPR Committee cannot yet be the sole office. We must also try to inspire particular circles, to offer suggestions on the forms and methods of activities, but also to verify whether we are heading toward the set aim by the shortest path. It seems to me that precisely this kind of style of action will allow us not only to break the reluctance of society, but also to solve all of the problems efficiently.

/Question/ The introduction of such a work style into the activities of municipal party channels is, of necessity, tied to the removal of people who did not prove themselves in the positions they occupy, or who cannot think in the new way. How does the comrade see the course of the process of changing the personnel in his own area?

/Answer/ One could take the most direct solution and remove all of those who deserved the just criticism of the people. Yet with such a simplified procedure, we can do harm to many honest, committed people who went astray at a certain stage and now have understood their errors and wish to join the stream of party and social life. Therefore, I do not see any reasons why they could not continue to remain among our ranks. On the other hand, those who do not understand anything or do not wish to understand the process of changes taking place now, should be removed. Remove those who believe that they have already done everything and those who happened upon their positions by chance.

/Question/ Have you already made concrete decisions about personnel?

/Answer/ Human affairs are always complex. This is also why a comprehensive and objective evaluation is necessary. Only then will I know that the

decisions, which I am making, are correct--in the sense of the imperative argument at the presentation of proposals to the Executive Board or to the Town Committee plenum as well.

/Question/ Hajnowka is celebrated for its rich revolutionary history. The people who were actively engaged in the worker's movement arose here, and this was the birthplace of the idea for creating a Museum of the Worker's Movement. How does the comrade see the role of these traditions in the ideological-educational activities of the party?

/Answer/ These traditions play no small role in our daily work. In the past years, they have been often forgotten. Today we must take over many elements from the party's methods of activity, with which we joined in the early years after the liberation.

The second issue is the utilization of worthy, active people in our work. We will try, on a broader scale, to enlist their help in the solving of all of the questions on our level and in the entire city. Their experience could help us greatly. They should be everywhere, where there is a need for their wisdom and reflection.

/Question/ Housing construction, commercial services, communication as well as the introduction of order in city planning--as evident from the work of party channels--are topics frequently raised at the plenary conferences of the party KM.

/Answer/ One should not be surprised, because the aim of improving the living and working conditions of the residents is the primary goal of the work by party channels. We wish to accomplish this aim so that the changes in our city will occur with the active participation of all of the personnel of Hajnowka plants and the residents of the city. I assume that the party, competently influencing the functioning of the municipal organization, proves itself in its work. I am convinced of this by the types of problems with which the people--both party and nonparty--come to us. These problems concern precisely the weak points of the city. The frequency of the people's coming to the committee is telling. After all, there was a time when it was said that it did not pay to turn to the KM with any sort of problems, since the party had lost its strength to cut through red tape.

/Question/ A very personal question to conclude our conversation: How does the comrade see himself in the role of first secretary?

/Answer/ I am conscious of the magnitude of work that awaits our party; work that will never be in short supply. I, as well as the entire KM, must always have a sense of insufficiency and dissatisfaction with the achieved results. Nothing interferes with work the way complacency does. One loses, then, a clarity of vision in many questions and stops appreciating their importance.

Nevertheless, we know that there will always remain many unsettled questions; questions behind which stand real people, waiting for a decision often weighing



their continued lot. And although many of the questions will not be able to be solved in keeping with expectations, it is important that society perceive the concern of the party for these questions. Today, in the general 24-hour crisis of attitudes and values, this takes on a special significance. We must be together with the people, and the people--together with us. Only then will we secure authority and confidence.

#### Situation Assessment of Work Force

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 3 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by: Helena Pilipiuk/

/Text/ The vast corridor around the production hall "BiaZET" /Bialystok Electronics Plant?/ is filled with the most varied announcements, information and advertising. There is certainly enough to read. Current bulletins from management, letters of commendation for the best workers, lists of persons to whom the relief fund granted loans and, on the opposite side, is a mottled board with slips of paper bearing private notices of the workers.

Particular sociopolitical organizations have the most space at their disposal: party, union, youth, women's, the committee for national rebirth; also, technical, tourist, hobby associations, and the like.

The factory broadcasting center is not idle either. Everybody knows that the electronics industry operates nearly without a sound, so the words of the announcer are heard in every location of work.

It is the announcement of the newest personnel changes that is heard from the loudspeaker; the announcer presents the new section head--his biography, qualifications, and the like. Interesting!

In no other plant did I encounter equally informative news. On the PZPR board there were not only posters, leaflets, telexes on current political events, but also resolutions from the most recent Basis Party Organization /POP/ meetings and Executive Board sessions of the Factory Committee.

"We hold nothing secret from the personnel," I hear the proud statement from members of the Factory Committee.

The party's planned aim for full publicity brings results. Nonparty members come to the open meetings and speak. Finally, after a long period of decrease in the lists of members, pledges from applicants being to arrive. For the time being, three young workers from "BiaZET" have collected them: a designer, storekeeper and foreman.

"Why do I want to join the party?" reflects one of the applicants. "The decision arose slowly. I particularly carefully observed the events of the

last few years. I didn't want to join toward the end of the so-called decade of success, during the period of mass recruitment. The pressure of numbers acted on me. The period after August ran stormily through our plant. A portion of the young party members became committed to the structure of mediocrity. They suggested that I join the party, but I was repelled by the brazen propaganda. A lot of improvisation was sensed in this haste.

"My misgivings proved correct. The majority of the youth from the mass recruitment quickly abandoned the party. Those from the mediocre structures similarly left. The period after December, then, was for me--a young man--a great unknown. With the passage of the following months, I began to be brought around to the party line, to the effect in action. The announcement of martial law being repealed influenced my decision. I expressed my desire to join the party on 17 December. The competency of the PZPR and the consistent achievements of the adopted resolutions convinced me. Not only at the central level, but even here, at our "BiaZET" plant. I think that I will be able to contribute something of myself. There is still much to do..."

"At least in the area of housing construction," prompts the first secretary of the Factory Committee, Roman Wilczynski.

Obviously, the issue is critical, since "BiaZET," as one of the youngest plants in Bialystok, employs primarily the young, who have recently begun families or wish to do so in the near future. The creation, for the personnel, of some kind of realizable housing prospect is a matter of the utmost importance. This issue, among others, was taken up in the resolutions of the party reports conference that deliberated in "BiaZET" on last 24 November.

During the course of the last weeks, the issue has taken on a fairly brisk pace. A factory program for single-family housing has already been worked out. Zbigniew Rychlicki, chairman of the factory organization ZSMP /expansion unknown/, gathered 100 persons willing to form a factory housing cooperative. If the issue takes a more definite turn, many more applicants will be found.

At this time, the most serious barrier is the location of the factory housing estate's single-family houses. An otherwise just law on the preservation of agricultural land stands in the way. It so happens that there are vacant lands within the city limits, but these were classified by geodesists as belonging to the third and fourth classes. Therefore, the lands formally do not fall within the classification of "fertile" and, in reality, are primarily barren. Farming between large urban blocks does not have any great developmental chances. Only the Ministry of Housing can unjam the initiative of "BiaZET." The party's factory organization does not intend to give up the possibility of this revocation. After all, such a well-developed venture should not be broken up because of a shortage of plots.

"I intend to broach this important subject at today's meeting with the Politburo member, comrade Kalkusz, who is visiting our neighboring Bialystok Furniture Factory," the first secretary of the KZ announces.

The party has noticed for a long time the personnel's social needs and necessities of life. Precisely in "BiaZET" was a social commission--very likely the first in the nation--established, due to the initiative of the Factory Committee.

It emerged already in December 1981--immediately after the suspension of the trade unions. The commission got along splendidly for the entire year, but now withdrew because the activity by the factory board of the trade union has already begun.

The party is concentrating its attention on relief for the diminishing but still-continuing divisions among the personnel. This is a painful legacy from 1980-81. It must be admitted, that the "BiaZET" party organization knowingly began to adopt democratic rules. This had both good and bad points, since it promoted a mediocre structure but also allowed the acceptance of decisions that were far from dogma. The POP reports meeting took place in "BiaZET" in December 1980. During the discussion, the proposal was made to bring about an election of new leadership. Although at that time there still were not any central instructions on the extraordinary session of the PZPR and the elections of lower grades of authorities previous to it--the comrades from "BiaZET" carried out the elections based on their own, rank and file initiative. The necessities of democracy had their way, but substantial personnel changes were never realized. The majority of the Factory Committee members were reelected.

The most significant changes began to occur in later days: first after the Ninth Congress, when several KZ members decided to leave the PZPR, and then after 13 December 1981. Both of these dates provoked personnel activity not only in the Factory Committee framework, but within the entire party organization. In December 1980, the party had 265 comrades, including 10 applicants. Until last November, i.e. up to the last reports conference, there remained only 179 members and applicants. In the last weeks, another eleven left the ranks. At the end of this January, the organization was composed of 168 comrades. On 7 February, comrades from branch party organization number 3 will decide whether or not to accept new applicants into their group.

It is possible that still other electronics specialists from "BiaZET" will want to follow their example. A filled hall during the last open meeting can testify to those inclined toward the party state of mind. Coworkers support the motivation for work program, promoted through the factory party organization. It was initiated last year, while in this year it is to be perfected so that it might awaken a still greater productivity, as well as improve the quality of production.

The party organization in "BiaZET" went through difficult turns, not without losses, but the last year of relative calm allowed it to concentrate its forces so that it could discharge its leadership role in the factory, and so that it could fulfill this function with true authority. The importance of the activities undertaken promotes this authority, just as does the public nature of political life, applied at every step.

## PZPR-ZSL Joint Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by: Helena Pilipiuk]

[Text] The red and green colored decorations of Congress Hall in Warsaw are seen as something symbolic. Poles and foreign reporters proclaimed: For the first time in history, a joint session of the central authorities of the PZPR and the ZSL was held. At the gmina level, this is not at all unusual. It is quite natural, since food production is essential and frequently the sole form of production.

For example, in the gmina of Turosn Koscielna, there are no industrial factories, whereas the largest employer is the Farming Circles Cooperative (130 employees). It is understandable, then, that both parties cooperate here with one another very closely. They convene joint plenary sessions, and the executive boards of the KC PZPR and KC ZSL are joint.

I continued upon one of these sessions. Members of the Executive Board of the PZPR and the Presidium of the ZSL sat down at the same table. Both parties were represented by an equal number of active participants--five persons. Their associations have nearly equal numbers of members in the gmina: PZPR--198, ZSL--170. Belonging to the KC Executive Board is Antoni Rosinski--a member of the PZPR Central Committee; on the other hand, the member of the KC Presidium--Stanislaw Wiecko--is in charge of the council mandate for the People's Province Council.

The aim of the joint session was to assess the progress of the rural meetings dealing with the Sejm's new laws on trade unions and agricultural organizations in the countryside. Thus, the invitation to the representatives of the Parish Office to participate as well--that is, the head, Witold Lapinski, and the chief of gmina agricultural services, Zygmunt Dunaj--was justifiable.

The head presented the information on the rural meetings. It did not sound optimistic. There are 32 village administrations in the gmina, but only in 19 did the meetings materialize. Attendance also was not particularly good. There was a total of 341 farmers who participated in all of the meetings combined, yet the gmina has over 1,500 farms. The fact that even those activists obligated to participate in the meetings--a task that was entrusted to them by the PZPR and the ZSL gmina authorities, as well as the head--were flippant about their own attendance, is most astonishing. It happened that the farmers, because of the absence of the organizers, would simply go home in the end. Admittedly, there were not many instances of such waiting, but not even one should have occurred.

It is not surprising that the participants in the session assessing the progress of the meetings in the gminas decided to hold talks with the activists who regarded their assigned tasks so flippantly. Such occurrences should not be

repeated because they not only discredit party discipline, but negatively influence the people's state of mind.

Zygmunt Dunaj, reporting on the issues connected with agriculture, which were raised at the rural meetings, stated: "A slackening of social bonds is being noticed in the countryside. During the meetings, one hears how each person strives only for himself, how it is necessary to give only to him alone, and how wronged he feels when he does not obtain something. Such complaints and demands create an unfavorable influence on the rural meetings in general. Whenever talk begins about accelerating the purchase of grain or the fulfillment of a plan for mineral fertilization, then immediately the hall resounds with quarrelsome counters from the farmers."

The chairman of the ZSL gmina Committee-Boleslaw Kondzior--shared observations that were no less interesting: "People do not wish to speak to a local activist. They demand the arrival of a representative of the province authorities, at least." He brought up an actual example. In the village of Turosn Koscielna, residents gathered together because they expected that someone from the outside would come; but when they realized that they had merely the local activist before them, they did not wish to speak to him. The meeting did not come off.

On the other hand, the meeting in the village of Chodory came off well because the representative of the PZPR Province Committee, comrade Bakowski, arrived. Many questions were asked and none remained unanswered.

Stanislaw Wierko attempted to defend the rural activists: "It is not their fault that the morale of the people has slumped. The crisis negatively affected their frame of mind. The village is embittered because it cannot produce needed goods. In the cities, at least, the employers supply essential articles. The farmers expect that when they present their complaints to a representative of higher authorities, then an improvement will come about more rapidly."

Antoni Jozewski, member of the PZPR Central Committee, presented a different view. "Let us not succumb to the delusion that the participation of a representative of higher authorities automatically causes an improvement of the situation. The majority of the issues depend on us alone and can be resolved on the parish level. We should not complain, but work. It is charged that ~~the~~ expansion unknown/ sold equipment outside of our gmina. And what can the cooperative council do about this? The government should not allow this to happen. The cooperative council should be activated, and one should not complain about the manager or the head."

Comrade Kondzior--on the actual example from a gmina area--substantiated the need to stimulate the self-government. It will be difficult to get out of the crisis without active cooperative or rural councils. Farmers produce, but they are not living by idly.

He shared his own observations from the period of preparations before the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR and the KN ZSL. He was at the URSUS plant and when he was there he was convinced that production of tractors is developing



successfully. They efficiently joined the production of agricultural goods by Bialystok industrial plants. For example, the Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory ["Spomasz"] began to produce practical coal steaming plants. Factory warehouses are crammed full of them, yet a farmer from the Turosn gmina vainly searches for such a steamer. The cooperative "Peasants Mutual Aid Society," which did not order goods produced specifically for the village market, bears the blame for this.

The joint session of the PZPR and ZSL active members in Turosn yielded many interesting proposals. I am presuming that it will not end merely with the formulation of these proposals for the minutes, but will be utilized in a practical manner. In the course of the discussions on the issue of agricultural circles, the participants in the partners' meeting in Turosn expressed the hope that the shortcomings in the campaign for rural meetings, conducted in December, will not be repeated in the gmina.

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CSO: 1600/405

# TEXT OF 30 JANUARY PASTORAL LETTER PUBLISHED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 6, 6 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Pastoral Message From Poland's Episcopate for a Day of Prayer Before the Arrival of the Holy Father, John Paul II"]

[Text] On Sunday, 30 January, a letter from Poland's episcopate was read, a summary of which is published here.

Beloved children of God!

With great joy we begin the period of preparation for the second pilgrimage of the Holy Father, who will visit the homeland on 18 June of this year. We are happy that the wish of the Holy Father will be fulfilled, who regards it as his right and duty to render veneration to the Mother of God, reigning over our nation for 600 years in the painting at Jasna Gora. This period will be filled with reflections on the apostolic teaching of John Paul II. With open mind and heart we desire to receive his words, and by them enrich our daily lives.

## An Appeal for Prayer

Because the Holy Father's example, his person and teaching are a great gift of God, we should prepare for the reception of this gift with persevering prayer. Therefore, we announce the feast of the Presentation of the Lord Jesus in the temple, 2 February, as a day of general prayer for the entire Church in Poland. The substance of the liturgy of this feast is unusually meaningful and intimate to us. Here Mary carries Jesus Christ, the light of the world, into the temple in Jerusalem. She brought Him to the temple almost 2,000 years ago, and present in the mystery of Christ and the church, she does this also today. She, as Mother of the Church, continually carries Him to the world, intercedes for us to the Son, brings us nearer to the great mystery of His living presence in the church.

The feast of the Lord's Presentation is known in Polish tradition as the Mother of God's Candlemas Day. The flame of candles dedicated on this date is a sign of defense against misfortunes, and accompanies man up to the final moment of life. We shall beseech the Mother of God on Candlemas Day to protect the Holy Father from all dangers, and may the borders of our country and every heart open broadly to meet Him.

However, we cannot stop with 1 day of prayer. We wish the entire homeland to resound with a great call to God to grant us those longed for graces. At Jasna Gora, from 1 February, the continual vigil and prayer of the Polish monastic orders will continue until the Holy Father arrives. May all Polish churches and every home also resound with this prayer. We beseech you, beloved children of God, pray together with your families in the evening, reciting the Angelus and at least one decade of the rosary in order to prepare the way for the Holy Father to Poland.

#### Conversion and Renewal of Life

Only a person with a pure heart can worthily receive God's gift. Therefore, genuine conversions and the internal renewal of the spirit, next to prayer, is one of the most important commitments, which we are not permitted to forget during this time of preparation. Do not rely on others, let each of us conduct an examination of conscience. Let each consider what improvement can be made in his life, changed, put in order, so that we can be truly children of God every day.

Many faults, habits and weaknesses burden our consciences, but above all: the innocent blood of murdered children, alcoholism and the drug habit, the trampling of marriage vows, insensibility to the prevailing evil in the community, to the needs of solitary and infirm persons residing in the neighborhood. Let us undertake a decision to renew life in the spirit of faith, being confident of the infinite mercy of God. Let us do everything in order to rise, in order to begin yet anew. In the task of reforming life, we can depend on the aid of the Most Blessed Mother, especially now during the Jasna Gora celebration.

#### Forgiveness for Injuries and Grudges

The great anguish of the nation also oppresses us. The drama of division weighs heavily upon social life, (...). Let us strive to overcome all of this so that upon meeting the Holy Father, we come as a nation living in the spirit of the gospel, governed by the principles of Christian tradition. We rely on amnesty on the part of the state authorities and other actions having as their objective the return of complete social justice which will facilitate the basis for forgiveness and national unity for all. Let this be our gift to the Holy Father. We summon the young people, who so painfully feel every constraint and injustice, to evangelical love. God will vindicate us when we fulfill His commandment of love, even in the face of enemies, so difficult, but solely victorious.

#### Acts of Love for our Fellowman and Voluntary Mortification

With love we shall bring the gift of life to the Holy Father, the gift of a worthy life, the gift of supernatural life. Let this be expressed through voluntary inclusion in Christ's way of the cross and sacrifice. Pope John Paul II summons us to a deeper understanding of the mystery of the Savior's suffering, proclaiming as the Holy Year the 1,930th year anniversary of the redeeming death of Christ. Every day carries so much suffering, hardship

and renouncement--let us accept them in the spirit of the approaching Holy Year, for the intention of Pope John Paul II, before his arrival in Poland.

Little children, we turn to you with a special appeal. Your petitions before the countenance of God are a positive force. Strive for good works and voluntary sacrifices. Put them into the hands of the Mother of God so that she brings the Holy Father to us. Young people and adults, you recall how much culture in conduct and mutual kindness the last visit of the Holy Father released in us. How good we felt in that atmosphere of brotherly closeness. Let us strive to resume those attitudes and feelings. At this time may they accompany us during the period of preparation.

Beloved children of God, before us lies the strenuous period of preparing for the meeting of the nation with the Holy Father. We need the aid of God's grace. Therefore, once again we encourage you to pray. On 2 February, all come to your churches and chapels for Holy Mass. Bring candles with yourselves. With this blessed light let us go to meet the Holy Father.

We bless you from the heart for the hardship undertaken in preparing for the second jubilee pilgrimage of the Holy Father to the homeland.

Polish Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, Warsaw, 19 January 1983.

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CSO: 2600/432

## DAILY LAMENTS GROWING SPECULATION, PROFITEERING

AM011004 Warsaw ZIENIECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Feb 83 p 1

Commentary signed "(Jew)": "The Social Objection"

(Text) In difficult times, the feeling of social justice assumes particular importance. People who are tired of waiting in long lines and who have problems making ends meet cannot and do not want to understand how it is that some people accumulate huge fortunes and that while a majority of the community feels the crisis in its own pockets, there are groups of people who are living better than ever before.

Every crisis situation aggravates pathological phenomena. What was once a fringe of society whose activities were not capable of swaying people's feelings of social justice is today considered a social plague which simply offends these feelings. This fringe has not so much reached the proportions of a plague as it has become greedier and meddlesome and considerably more keenly felt. People are under the impression that it is as if all kinds of speculators and profiteers were pursuing their activities without being punished, even with the blessing of the law, and that the organs of the state are becoming helpless against them. But this, after all, is not the case.

The government has for some time been conducting a determined battle against all manifestations of social pathology, particularly against speculation. The appropriate legal regulations and organizational undertakings have been implemented, and various controls have been considerably stepped up. However, the point is to increase the effectiveness of all these activities so that they now hit hard at people who are acquiring wealth dishonestly and break up criminal cliques preying on the crisis. Concrete conclusions particularly aimed at increasing consistency and determination are drawn from the results obtained in combating speculation and other manifestations of evil to date. Certain legal rules will also, for this reason, be amended, particularly fiscal ones, and more effective organizational measures will be undertaken. General W. Jaruzelski spoke about this in Katowice, stressing that the "era of easy business must end."

But what irritates people most--the manifestations of speculation and getting rich quick, to mention just two examples--is not the end of the problem. Is it not a fact that in some factories high bonuses are not justified by honest high-quality work an insult to feelings of social justice? And are all the extra



"allowances" which are shared out not speculation! And the machines rusting out in the open, scheming warehousemen, disorderliness, wastefulness and bad management, everything that is visible to the naked eye, does this not deserve people's active objection? Does not an official who holds a petitioner in contempt, not to mention one who accepts bribes, take away our feelings of human dignity and justice!

How many different manifestations of social evil, of greater and smaller degrees of cunning, are rife around us. The attitude of silent disapproval is now not enough to eliminate these negative phenomena from our environment. The social "no" must be expressed more fully and determinedly every day because the best rules and the most numerous controls will not eradicate these pathological phenomena from our life.

It must be an activity which is conducted with the utmost consistency on two levels at the same time--the administrative level, by means of a body especially appointed for this purpose, and the social level. People's councils, trade unions, the cells of workers' and local self-management bodies, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and workers' control teams have a particular role to play. Equally significant is the help of every citizen who wants the results of his honest work to help the country emerge from the crisis instead of becoming the subject of speculation. Jointly overcoming the crisis is the most effective way to curb manifestations of pathology.

ISO: 16000/545

## ZAGREB WEEKLY DISCUSSES CASTRO'S REVOLUTION

Zagreb DAILYAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 83 p 32

[Article by Vlatka Polario: "Fidel Castro Ruz: Married to the Revolution"]

[Text] The lovers of refined smoking pleasures are agreed that there is no better tobacco than the strong Cuban tobacco. The aristocratic Monte Cristo cigars will certainly be in the diplomatic luggage of Cuban President Fidel Castro Ruz on his first visit to Western Europe, which is to take place soon. At any rate, Felipe Gonzalez, the prime minister of Castro's ancestral homeland and his first host, is a passionate cigar smoker. Those in the know claim that every week, Castro personally sends his precious cigars.

It is not known whether a similar "tobacco connection" links Cuba with the other two countries on Castro's European itinerary, France and Sweden. Mitterrand, however, caused considerable surprise when immediately after his election as French president he appointed as his advisor Regis Debray, a great friend of the Cuban revolution and a colleague of the legendary Che. Prof Palme, the third socialist statesman who will receive Castro as a guest, was the first of his West European colleagues to visit revolutionary Cuba. The thread, although thin and fragile, nevertheless exists.

## Never Modest

Fidel, as he is simply called in Cuba, was born in 1927 in the family of a wealthy planter, an immigrant from poverty-stricken Spanish Galicia. From his earliest years, he showed, as they say, a "dangerous liveliness." An anecdote relates how, as a 5-year-old, Fidelito threatened to burn down his wealthy father's house if he were not sent to school. His first action and his first success: he completed elementary school and high school in Santiago de Cuba, with the Jesuits. A clairvoyant professor noted on his high school diploma, "This young man will go far."

Fidel went to Havana to study law. At first he was known mostly as the several-times athletic champion of Cuba, and, among his friends, as a passionate participant in street brawls. Even then, it appears, passion poured into action prepared method and calculation.

He was never modest. He even admits this himself. To him, the revolution was a fire that would destroy long-established afflictions and injustices,

but which would also illuminate his personal charisma. Revolution was at that time still a word that was understood intuitively, as an imperative to action, without prior theoretical consideration. Only later, when he was already secretary general, would he begin to consider himself a "true Marxist-Leninist", and it was even later that he would assert that that was what he had been "from the very beginning."

#### Victory and Wandering

Batista's dictatorship, the way in which American capital was running wild, the too great a poverty in the villages created the illusion that the regime could be destroyed by a "surprise attack." With 150 adherents, radical students, Castro attacked the Moncada barracks. Most of the attackers paid for this blunder with their lives. As a result of the intervention of influential Catholic friends, Castro was only sentenced to prison for many years, but after 2 years, thanks to a general amnesty, he left Cuba.

In Mexico, he met the Argentine doctor Ernesto Che Guevara, and together they prepared for an armed return to Cuba. After an unsuccessful landing from the vessel "Granma" and the death of most of the fighters, Castro, with only 13 barbutos (bearded ones) managed to reach the sanctuary of the heights of the Sierra Maestra, and he began a battle that will be recorded in all military manuals.

Two years later, on New Year's Day in 1954, a victorious Castro entered Havana in a tank. Of the 13, he was accompanied by Che and his brother Raul, who had been his first helper. His sister Juana did not meet him. She had fled before him to the U. S., like his wife Mirta. He did not marry again; he was "married to the revolution," as the Cubans say.

The revolution was born in agony. The victory over bourgeois reaction, which viewed the revolution as concluded just by the flight of the dictator Fulgencio Batista and the installation of a transitional "moderate bourgeois government," was not any easier than overcoming the differences among the various revolutionary forces. Castro resolved the differences among those responsible for the guerrilla struggle, Castro's 26 July Movement, the Revolutionary Directorate of 13 March, and the dogmatic Communist Party, in a characteristic manner: from his adherents, he created a new Communist Party in 1961, which he has headed himself ever since.

The U. S., the large neighbor only 90 miles away, and until the revolution virtually a colonizer of Cuba, was so disturbed by the increasingly "red" regime that in 1961 it became involved in an insane undertaking, an invasion. Its failure consolidated Fidel's power, which would not be shaken even by a total American blockade of Cuba.

In this situation, Castro vacillated among various orientations. Cuba attended the first nonaligned conference in 1961, but Castro did not go to

delegate himself, sending instead the nominal president Dorticos. At that time Fidel was actually more inclined to Che's concept of "tricontinentalism," which was close to the Chinese dogma of "three worlds." Nevertheless, in light of the increasingly sharper conflict between Moscow and Beijing, he became more distant from the Chinese, and decided in favor of what he considered to be economically and militarily the most advantageous alignment, with the Soviet Union; he brought Cuba into CEPA, sharply attacking "Beijing's revisionism."

#### A Stubborn "Horse"

Relying on his "great ally," Castro's Cuba, as some analysts have observed, slowly became a "copy" instead of a "revolutionary original." Side by side with increasingly greater ambitions within the nonaligned movement, and the approach of the sixth nonaligned conference in Havana, Castro spoke more often about his "inseparable friendship" with the Soviet Union, but also, which is more significant, about the "decisive role" of the USSR and the countries of the so-called "socialist community" in the success and even the very existence of the movement.

In the hills of the Sierra Maestra, Castro was nicknamed "the horse" because of his endurance and stubbornness. Without these characteristics, he would not have fulfilled his historic role in changing the face of Cuba. No one can deny his role; but no one can deny either that at some sensitive moments in the division of influence among the great powers, his role has given the impression of a certain horse from Greek mythology, which was actually a wooden one.

1969

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# RELIGIOUS, NATIONALISTIC EFFORTS TO SWAY YOUTH DESCRIBED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 83 p 3

Article by Inezana Radosevic: "Determined Resistance to the Manipulators"

[Text] The shoulders of young people have always been strong enough to bear even the heaviest burdens, to stop the griststone and separate "the wheat from the chaff." This strength has not grown weaker during all this time of giving birth to children and raising them, not even today, when certain strange winds, carrying sand, are "blowing" into sound eyes. Organized in the youth organization front, the vast majority of young people sense these unhealthy currents, and identify themselves even more strongly, heart and soul, with the basic values and heritage of our society. There are also young people who are still rubbing the sand out of their eyes, uncertain, and waiting for something; this is indicated by experience and by the facts presented at the last meeting of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where some ideological trends, phenomena, and tendencies in realizing the social position of the younger generation were discussed. These young people are naturally a part of the youth organization, and it is not by chance that the latter is not renouncing them, aware that in part, through its occasional inactivity, concern with itself and concern about poor organization, and sometimes even through administrative communications in its organs and bodies, it has "been behind" the appearance of a considerable number of young people outside the organized youth front, in an "ideologically" exposed position, which has recently been particularly noticeable.

## Task and Demand

Fortunately, a sound youth organization does not need much. With an increasingly broader notion, they are more and more clearly recognizing and exposing the ideological hardness of the spiritual guidance of the individuals and groups who are acting on the basis of positions opposed to socialist self-management and the LC. This presents the League of Socialist Youth with several urgent tasks, and presents it with the demand for determined and uncompromising ideological and political action, in which it should expose the counterrevolutionary and manipulative nature of the "spiritual guidance" for the younger generation. But equality, fraternity, and unity are the life lived by youth, the means by which they



uncompromisingly defend the heritage won with the blood and sweat of our peoples and nationalities. The positions of the Presidency of the Republic Committee (RK) of the League of Socialist Youth of Bosnia-Herzegovina (SJBH) on this are very definite:

It is essential to mobilize youth on these issues on a daily basis, to develop even more boldly its active and free critical sensibility, avoiding the bureaucratic ideas that young people can be protected from negative influences by keeping them under a bell jar. Keeping young people at a distance from the serious social and complex ideological and political issues does not mean anything other than shifting this enormous force into some sort of secondary track, which is so eagerly accepted by the spiritual leaders.

The younger generation should therefore be in the mainstream of action: this is realistic, and they deserve it through their strength and education. Placing youth in the front ranks of the battle for further strengthening the political system of socialist self-management really means erecting a solid bulwark against all of those assaults against our community and, as we are witnessing, these assaults are more and more frequent, and more and more treacherous.

Recently we have witnessed attempts to divide young people and to create an antagonism along generational lines, and to attempt in this way to snatch them away from the bosom of the revolution. More and more often, young people are being offered clericalist visions of "salvation," while in fact these people are manipulating young people's religious feelings for reactionary political purposes, providing nationalist indoctrination, and instituting a division along religious or nationality lines. This is also indicated by the facts that last year, of the total number of young people expressing hostile viewpoints, most fell into nationalist or clericalist camps.

#### Who Is Who

The hostile circle shrinks a little from time to time, but it will not start shrinking. It sends an enormous number of young people from its meetings throughout the republic. These will be publicly named. The basic organizations of the SNO will discuss all of this much more clearly and loudly, give reports, and go in pursuit of them. This is because they are frequently responsible for the phenomena that are appearing. The demand for better ideological and political qualifications is no verbal position adopted at a congress. This is an everyday necessity, a need for intensification and even for difficulties in which it will be easiest to see who is who. Young people also want to know "who is who." They themselves want a differentiation within their own organization. This is because inexperience opportunism, playing it safe, and the policy of avoiding criticism must be eliminated once and for all. For young people, such a silence is not golden. It makes people insensitive and does not invite them to action, but action is more necessary now than ever before. It is necessary at every step. In the last two years, both ideas

and authors openly conflicting with US policy, and with the basic principles upon which our society rests, have succeeded in "infiltrating" themselves into the pages of the youth press, where action is necessary, as it is in the factory hall, in school, in the faculty auditorium, and on the stage. With respect to this, there have been both structural acceptance of various ideas, and sentimental articles, which in part have now points in common with a constructive, communist approach to current social and local practice.

Although the news media, even during the preceding period, mostly had a positive influence on the involvement of the younger generation, and gave considerable encouragement to the ideological and political activities of the YMO, the youth press has on several occasions been manipulated with respect to the real state of affairs in society, and some already well-known "solutions" have been disseminated and offered. Among these, it is worth mentioning, for the sake of a warning, the so-called "packaged" and indirect appeals to young people to "take nature into their own hands."

The young people are doing this, not not according to the prescriptions of their external advisors. In their own youth organization, in the socialist youth forum, with their vitality, militancy, integrity, and freedom from encumbrances, they are fighting for the YOUNG Anti-Fascist Journal for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia' principles and firmly following Tito's path. Ideologically, they are clearly committed, not doubting that they will always emerge victorious from such human battles. Their optimism, after all, can be perceived in every step.

1944-1945

Later, some young people came under attack from internationalistic  
"bureaucrats" when the "steering" of certain extremists in the youth  
movement. Thus, in 1941 a group of high school children in Chicago were  
denounced "Independent State of America Day," and this also happened  
in June of 1941. More and more often ideological "symptoms," "family  
conferences," "national meetings," special masses for young people and students,  
national and spiritual exercises for young people are being organized;  
a "United Nations Youth" is being created; they are organizing "Conferences,  
clubs in youth "national" communities are distributed. Youth centers are  
being organized, etc. In attempts to bring young people closer to the  
national, athletic competitions are being organized, musical premises are  
provided, and cultural-entertainment and other actions are being financed.  
All this is being done colored with the dirty colors of internationalism.

ALLS IN "BUTTER LANE"

Several times in his speeches, throughout the country, indicate that nationalism is on the offensive, and once again young people are prominently the main targets. Without reflecting negatively on the Kosovo events, for the sake of a warning, let us recall the student speeches in

place in Belor and Zagreb. the mass burning of Jewish and Partisan camps stirred up by nationalist vigilantes", the wearing of shirts with the sign of the four S's in Belgrade, the desecration of graves in Bosnia-Herzegovina...

Most of the young people speaking in the name of nationalist movements are intellectuals, schoolboys, and students, while fewer are workers in direct production or agricultural workers.

In Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and some other cities in our republic, one now perceives the activities of the "Paradise Boys" movement, the members of which are mostly young people, who by preaching "meditation" are really calling young people to disassociate themselves from social-political life and to become uninvolved.

END

1970 1000 101

# YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT DEFENDS OPTINA IN CIGAR CASE

Belgrade BUREL in Belgrade-Bureau (Mar 4) 1-1

Insisting that the writing of Ranka Djokic, "STONK" journalist, in the 'big affair' in Belgrade and her trial do not have any connection, and can not speak about 'inspired' the court case. Also, not one of the influential people in Belgrade was named in the same affair nor did any of the 11 farmers in Belgrade who received 11 million dinars in credits from the 'green plan' spend this money for cigarettes for which the credits were not intended. This was reported in 19 February in a discussion of representatives of the agricultural organizations in Belgrade with journalists.

Stevan Jovanovic, president of the Belgrade working assembly, said, "In our country of 1,400 households in organized agricultural production, only 10 households participate in cooperation with socialist work organizations which are located outside Belgrade and among these households there are some who were involved in the 'big affair.' Proceedings against participants in this affair is being conducted by the public prosecutor in Belgrade, so one would seek an answer there as to why the participants are not in jail. We believe that these articles have sullied the reputation of our area. To put it simply, we were alarmed by the articles and as a result we reacted immediately."

We do not want to comment on Ranka Djokic, the subject of criminal responsibility because we have full confidence in the judicial system. It was said in the report which was given to journalists. We are only surprised at the statements in certain information media which relate to the citizens of Belgrade who, in accord with our principles of social protection, reported to the authorities about the cigarette case of Ranka Djokic.

Continuation of the complaint of Ranka Djokic's attorney, as well as that of the public prosecutor, concerning the verdict, is scheduled for 10 March in the Belgrade supreme court.

END 1400 24

## POET ACCUSED OF STIRRING UP HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by Imre Bori]

[Excerpts] A few weeks ago this writer [Bori] had the illusion that he would complete his series of articles ... about the 80-year-old poet Djula Iljes, with words of greeting in elevated tones such as this occasion requires.... But this will not be written. In the meantime it has turned out that this poet "has developed political ideas from his poetic creation," and not poems. We must throw out these political ideas....

Let us explain that Iljes with the help of the West German journalist Hari Schleicher in the 21 December 1982 issue of the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU not only represents the Yugoslav Hungarians and Yugoslavia in a bad light before the world with his unfounded assertions but has interfered in the life of Yugoslav Hungarians and in the internal and foreign affairs of our country. According to this journalist, "It seems to Iljes that the position of his Hungarian compatriots is threatened in Czechoslovakia and even in Yugoslavia."

On the basis of the text it can be concluded that Iljes considers the Hungarian intelligentsia in Yugoslavia to be opportunistic (lenient) and that it concerns little with its Hungarian nationality and lacks a national consciousness, so it is incapable of "effective self-defense." He accuses Yugoslavia, among other things, for carrying out a "process of de-Hungarianization of city centers. Certainly such things can be said only by a person who has no basic knowledge of the Yugoslav practice of equality and community of peoples and nationalities, because otherwise life would not be thought of as being in constant confrontation [as Iljes thinks of it] and the idea would not be offered regarding the need for illegal organizing.

It is very frightening how in the course of an hour-and-a-half ... conversation, according to the journalist, he releases the spirit of irredentism from the bottle of the past and lets it cruise around Europe when he says that the Trianon borders are "unjust" so accordingly the present state borders are



not inviolable. He invites France and Great Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia in order to defend the nationalities, because it is their "political responsibility."

Let us also note that the former surrealist poet, after 60 years, is issuing "unreal" political prescriptions, i.e., ... he offers his "Swiss model" to the countries of central and eastern Europe and does this, we are convinced, without any real historical or political basis. This proves ... that he wants to be the uninvited advocate of Yugoslav Hungarians in the eyes of Western Europe in order to change their existence into a game of world politics and a game of the big powers.

CSO: 2800/190

## SLOVENIAN NATIONALIST WRITING OF MIRKO CEPIC DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] On 12 February 1983 (page 8) BORBA (Belgrade) reported that the Slovenian youth paper MLADINA had published an article critical of Mirko Cepic's series in the Maribor weekly "7 d" entitled "The Less Developed." BORBA described Cepic as assistant director of Ljubljana radio who has a regular column in "7 d" where "he publishes his 'opinion' about anything and everything but most often about inter-nationality relations in Yugoslavia. His unacceptable thoughts about Kosovo and the events there are well-known."

BORBA says, in this article by Jovan Pjetic, BORBA's editor for Slovenia, that Cepic's "other writings about the 'less developed' are such that any normal person would have to ask how it is possible that someone could write something like this and even more, how it ... could be published in our country, in a paper of the Socialist Alliance.... In short, Cepic 'discovers' that the developed areas of Yugoslavia (first of all, Slovenia) are developed because the Slovenes (and partly also the Croats) have work habits, while those in the ... undeveloped areas do not. Work habits and work ethic, according to him, Slovenians have acquired thanks to the Austrians (not to mention the Austro-Hungarian occupation) which in the 18th and 19th centuries 'permitted' industrial development in Slovenia and partly also in Croatia, and thanks to the civilizing role of Catholicism and the struggle ... of the church against 'Byzantine-ism.' The population in the undeveloped areas of Yugoslavia did not acquire work habits because they faithfully served the Ottoman Empire for a long time and 'Moslem-ism' is static, just as the Orthodox church is, which ... is also an extension of Byzantine-ism, etc."

In a follow-up article in the 28 February issue of BORBA (page 2), Pjetic reports that "7 d" published his criticism of Cepic but in the same issue included a Ljubljana reader's letter which "grossly slanders and attacks" Pjetic, accusing him of discrediting the Slovenian language. Pjetic, concluding that "everything in this 'letter' is a lie and insinuation of the worst kind," suggests that the "7 d" editors are the real authors of it.

CSO: 2800/190

## BRIEFS

ANTI-ALBANIAN STATEMENTS PUNISHED--Subotica, 2 March--The higher court in Subotica, in accordance with article 134 of the SFRY penal statute, sentenced Momcilo Dragovic of Senta to 2 years in jail for provoking national hatred. The court proved that Dragovic, during the past 2 years in Senta, while commenting on the events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, several times and before many witnesses made untruthful, insulting assertions about members of the Albanian nationality. Among other things, Dragovic claimed that they are "uneducated, uncultured and lazy, that they are chauvinists and irredentists, and that as a result they should be kept under firm control." Similarly, Dragovic "upheld" brotherhood and unity with warnings that we in Vojvodina, because of the assistance we are giving, will be eating cornbread while they eat white bread in Kosovo. According to Dragovic, all Albanian children are brought up in such a way that they begin to engage in hostile activity at the age of 12. Momcilo Dragovic was previously convicted of damaging the reputation of the SFRY and its organs and representatives, as well as for spreading false information. [Text] [Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 83 p 8]

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MARCH 30, 1963

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